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A
HANDY
GUIDE
TO
JEWISH
COINS

REV. E. ROGERS, M.A.

SPINK & SON LTD
LONDON.
MCMXIV



ROBERT L. BOWEN

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✓
A
HANDY
GUIDE
TO
JEWISH
COINS

REV. E. ROGERS M.A.

LONDON
SPINK & SON LTD.
17 & 18 PICCADILLY, W.
1914

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD MERSEY
WITH GRATITUDE
BECAUSE HE FIRST TAUGHT ME
THAT THERE ARE THINGS
IN LIFE
BESIDES BREAD AND BUTTER
WHICH ARE WORTHY A MAN'S STUDY.

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	I
Chapter I. Legends	5
— II. Hashmonean Family	15
— III. Herodian Family	29
— IV. Procurators, First Revolt and After	36
— V. Second Revolt	51
— VI. After the Second Revolt	59
— VII. Bible Coins	67
Cross reference to Legends	97
Key to Plates	82
Table of Alphabets	85
Index	100

PLATES

- I. Hashmonean Dynasty.
 - II. Herod Family.
 - III. Roman Procurators and Romano-Judaean.
 - IV. Romano-Judaean.
 - V. Second Revolt.
 - VI. Second Revolt.
 - VII. Second Revolt and After.
 - VIII. Coins of Christian and Turkish Claimants to Jerusalem.
 - IX. Coins of the Old and New Testament.
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PREFACE

Grace before and after meals is not only a pious custom but the mark of a properly grateful man. This Preface is by way of being both Graces rolled into one. As it comes first in place in this little book, it is meant to express the gratitude of the reader for all that is best in it : as it comes last in order of time of writing, it is meant to express the gratitude of the author for all the help and kindness, which alone have made this book possible.

It is therefore rather a record of thanks, than a recommendation of merit, either real or supposed, as is the stark or disguised purpose of most of its kind.

First and foremost my thanks are due to Messrs. Spink for giving me the opportunity of writing in their *Numismatic Circular*; and in connection I owe more than I can put down to my friend, Mr. L. Forrer, if he will allow me to call him so. He has been at the most unsparing pains both in the text and the illustrations; his knowledge, his experience and enthusiasm, invaluable.

Then I have to thank the Rev. Dr. Burney, Fellow of S. John's College, Oxford for reading and correcting the proofs; and supplementing my meagre Hebrew attainments by his well known scholarship. It would be less than graceful, if I were not to acknowledge that even if my stock of Hebrew is but meagre, the interest with which he inspired me twenty years ago at Oxford is living still.

Whatever may be thought of the general treatment of the subject, there can be but one opinion of the illustrations, which are at present of a superlative excellence, never before reached in the study of Jewish coins.

For them too I have to thank many kind friends. No single collection could provide all the specimens necessary. Mr. G. F. Hill, the Keeper of Medals at the British Museum has not only given me *carte blanche* for all I needed of the casts from his magnificent Catalogue, which at the moment is nearing completion, but with the utmost generosity has supplied me with readings and other valuable

information on the asking. For the loan of other coins I have to thank Field Marshal Lord Grenfell, Mr. Percy Webb, Mr. J. Campion and Herr L. A. Mayer of Frankfort, as well as Messrs. Spink, who have freely placed their large stock at my disposal.

And finally, since gratitude has been defined as the expectation of favours to come, I would ask as my own reward, that more scholars and numismatists should study this series of absorbing interest, and from their study correct my inevitable mistakes and so build up the fair fabric of accurate and scientific knowledge.

EDGAR ROGERS.

A HANDY GUIDE TO JEWISH COINS

BY REV. EDGAR ROGERS, M. A.

INTRODUCTION.

The coins of the Jews ought to provide an interest for the collector, as few other series can. Whatever his own religion may or may not be, the life and religion of Israel have profoundly moulded the standard of morality in the great nations of modern civilization.

A study, then, which throws any light upon the history of "the chosen people" is worthy the attention of a cultured man.

Hebrew monuments and inscriptions are singularly few. The Stele of Mesha and the inscription of Siloam practically exhaust them¹. Outside the Bible, and possibly Josephus, the history and antiquities of the Jews are a sealed letter to most people. A practically universal ignorance of Hebrew among coin collectors shuts the door upon Jewish literature at first-hand. Nor is the prospect of immediate enlightenment very brilliant. Islam is in possession of the Holy Land²; and the Crescent is raised above the most sacred spots on earth.

The coins then, which come to us in considerable numbers provide us with some of the first-hand witnesses, outside the literature, of the thought and customs of the people who paved the way

1. Dr. Burney reminds me "that this is, however, too sweeping. We have in addition the Gezer agricultural Calendar and the as yet unpublished Israelite docket from Samaria, besides various early dockets on jar-handles etc. The Phoenician inscriptions also, which are of course very numerous, are in point of fact Hebrew in language".

2. Permission has, however, been from time to time granted for excavations, which have yielded results of first-rate importance.

for Christianity and account for the unique position of the Jews among the nations of the world to-day.

Two considerations tend to make the study of Jewish coins somewhat limited.

In the first place, they can claim very little artistic or mechanical merit. Certainly they come woefully short of the splendid productions of Greek genius. The second Commandment was a stern reality to the Jew.

Secondly, many collectors are frightened by the bogey of Hebrew legends. They are so conscious of their own ignorance of the language that they are afraid to tackle a series, where Hebrew is obviously an essential. They are further under the entirely false impression that the workmanship of Jewish coins is always bad, and that the condition of most Jewish coins is miserable, and therefore hardly worth the trouble and attention which an "unknown tongue" involves.

This present Guide is a modest attempt to dispel a wrong impression, and may perhaps be regarded by some as in the nature of a forlorn hope.

The Hebrew legends upon Jewish coins are capable of a very easy mastery; and really fine coins are to be obtained throughout the series. Certainly an increased number of intelligent collectors would raise the standard of fineness, and the most cursory glance at the magnificent collection in the British Museum would convince the sceptical that first-rate coins are to be obtained.

A simple key is provided in the accompanying table of all known legends, and the writer expresses the fervent hope that a profitable study of an intensely interesting series may result with conclusions of the utmost value to all who have Biblical science at heart.

To this end a table of the Hebrew legends in their original lettering is worked out, with the equivalent in square Hebrew, a transliteration as far as is possible into English, and a translation of the meaning.

The writer hopes that every Jewish coin is therefore covered.

The only caution which it is necessary to offer to the beginner, is that the Hebrew, contrary to the English, reads from right to left, and not from left to right.

An alternative method would have been to have affixed a table¹ of alphabets. As these vary from time to time, to have done this would have perplexed the student and caused him unnecessary trouble.

There follows a similar table of Greek legends, and lastly the Latin legends are added to illustrate the series struck by the victorious Roman after the first and second revolts of the Jews, which ended in the utter destruction of Jerusalem.

1. A short table of Alphabets is in fact added on page 97.

By this means a person wholly ignorant of Hebrew, Greek or Latin will find himself quickly able to read and understand the coins of this most important series.

With this equipment an ordinary collector will have at hand the means to study a series of coins which at least throw a light upon Bible times and exhibit one side of the world's tragedy; for the Jew stands for the conflict of "holiness" with "beauty".

Philip of Macedon dreamed a wider dream of Greek culture than the City-State, let us say, of Athens could ever achieve. The hostility of Demosthenes to him is well known. The conquests of Alexander the Great made the dream a reality. For the one and only time in the world's history the West impressed its thought so vividly upon the East, that the East was ready to imitate and aspire. A comparison of our own failure in India with the triumphant success of Greek culture in Syria, Parthia and Bactria is instructive. In the two centuries B.C. and the first century A.D. the Oriental wanted to be a Greek—a Western. He has never wanted since.

As the outcome of the spread of Hellenism, Antiochus Epiphanes called out the opposition of the Maccabees and Jewish Coinage proper begins. But the conflict had far more important results. Judaea in despair appealed to the Roman power. That power held Syria in check. Judaea was saved as an entity for the time.

The Lord was born into a Judaea which had asserted its autonomy against the Seleucid on the one hand and the Ptolemaic dynasty on the other, at the price of subserviency to Rome. A Roman protectorate made it possible for a Jew to live, and a Roman protectorate made it possible for a Jew to be put to death by "ungodly sinners of the Gentiles"; since the Roman reserved for himself the right in capital cases.

Thus the Atonement on Calvary was made possible on the nearest terms of Jewish Sacrifice and Ritual.

To all this the Jewish coinage bears witness. Step by step it works up to the world's Redemption; and in so doing wins a special interest.

It comes therefore almost in the nature of an anticlimax to find that there are purely numismatic problems to be solved. The attribution of the early shekels is one of the most famous puzzles of Numismatic Science. The last word on this is far from being said.

Again, the interpretation of types is worthy of serious study. The Jew did not put *anything* upon his coins. It was infinitely more a matter of religion with him than with the pagan of his day. He knew that an unhappy choice of type could inflame a riot, as indeed it did. He was therefore careful in his choice. The study of type is not only fascinating, but illuminative of the thought of the day.

There is a great deal of work to be done in this field.

Lastly, there is the most attractive prospect for the collector. The study of Jewish numismatics has by no means been exhausted. There are many varieties, many new types even, to be discovered and classified. Each collector may add his quota.

The standard works upon Jewish Numismatics are few and readily obtainable.

They are as follows : —

Coins of the Jews, by Frederic W. Madden, published by Trübner & Co. London, 1881.

Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque, by F. de Saulcy, published by Didot frères. Paris, 1854.

Jewish Coins, by Theodore Reinach: translated by Mrs. G. F. Hill, published by Lawrence & Bullen, London, 1903.

British Museum Catalogue, by G. F. Hill (*in preparation*).

This last contains a description of the famous Wigan and Hamburger collections.

There are numerous articles scattered about in various numismatic periodicals, but the above list covers practically everything known of Jewish Numismatics.

Much assistance can be gained from a study of the Bible, Josephus, and in particular, The Life and Times of **JESUS** The Messiah, by Alfred Edersheim, published by Longmans, Green and Co. London, 1901.

Good Bible Commentaries and Dictionaries are also helpful, though their Numismatic information is often singularly inaccurate.

The Collection in the British Museum is the best in the world. It is easily accessible and the well-known courtesy of the staff in the Medal Room makes its examination a delight.

A brief study of the following table of legends in Hebrew, Greek and Latin will soon convince the collector, that he has not a very formidable task before him in deciphering the coins which pass through his hands.

CHAPTER I.

THE HEBREW LEGENDS.

EARLY SHEKELS AND HALF SHEKELS.

Obv.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>1. $\aleph W \aleph P \psi L W Y \eta \zeta$
 ירושלם קדשה
 <i>Jerushalem Kedoshah</i>
 Holy Jerusalem.</p> | } | First year shekels
and
half shekels. |
| <p>2. $\aleph W Y \aleph P \aleph \psi \zeta L W Y \eta \zeta$
 ירושלים הקדושה
 <i>Jerushalaim ha-Kedoshah</i>
 Jerusalem the Holy.</p> | } | The remaining
years. |

Rev.

- | | | |
|--|---|---------------|
| <p>3. $L F \eta W \zeta L P W$
 שקל ישראל
 <i>Shekel Israel</i>
 Shekel of Israel.</p> | } | Shekels. |
| <p>4. $L \eta W \aleph \zeta \zeta \boxplus$
 חצי השקל
 <i>Chatzi ha-Shekel</i>
 Half-shekel.</p> | } | Half shekels. |

Numerals.

$F = X = 1$; $\aleph = \beth = 2$; $\eta = \beth = 3$; $4 = \beth = 4$; $\aleph = \beth = 5$

$W = \psi$ preceding a numeral stands for

5. שנת = Shenath = year.

EARLY COPPER.

Obv.

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------|
| <p>6. $\psi \aleph \zeta \beth \times L F \zeta L$
 לגאולת ציון
 <i>Lig'ullath Zion</i>
 Of the redemption of Zion.</p> | } | on all modules. |
|--|---|-----------------|

Rev.

7. ז ז ב ט ט ט פ X Y W

שנת ארבע חצי

Shenath arba Chatzi

In the fourth year, one half.

8. ז ז ט ט ט X Y W

שנת ארבע רביע

Shenath arba Rebia

In the fourth year, one quarter.

9. ט ט ט X Y W

שנת ארבע

Shenath arba

In the fourth year.

HASHMONEAN FAMILY.

John Hyrcanus.

Rev.

10.

ⲁ	A
ⲥ ⲥ ⲁ ⲥ ⲥ	יהוה חנן
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	הכהן הג
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	דל וחבר ה
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	יהודים

Jehochanan Hakkoben Haggadol Vecheber Hajebndim.

John the High Priest and the Senate of the Jews.

Rev.

11.

ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	יהוש
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	נח הכהן
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	הגדל וח
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	בר היה
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	ודים

Jehokanan Hakkoben Haggadol Vecheber Hajebndim

John the High Priest and the Senate of the Jews.

Rev.

12.

ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	יהוש
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	נח הכהן ה
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	גדל ראש
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	חברהיה
ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ ⲥ	ודים

Jehokanan Hakkoben Haggadol Rosh Cheber Hajebndim.

John the High Priest, Chief of the Senate of the Jews.

JUDAS ARISTOBULUS.

Rev.

13.	4 7 3 2	יהוד
	9 1 7 4 7 9 7	הכהן הגדול
	9 3 8 7 2 7	ול יהוה
	7 2 4 7 7 2 7	היהודים

Jebudah Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajeduhim.
Judas the High Priest and Senate of the Jews.

ALEXANDER JANNAEUS.

Obv.

14. 7 2 7 7 7 7 7 X 7 7 7 7 7 7
יהונתן המלך

Jehonathan Hammelek.
Jonathan The King.
Rev.

15.	7 + 7 2	ונתן
	7 5 7 7 7 7	הכהן ה
	9 9 8 + 2 9 1	גדול והב
	7 2 4 7 1 7	היהודים

Jonathan Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajebudim.
Jonathan the High Priest and Senate of the Jews.
Rev.

16.	7 7 2	יה
 5 X 7	נתן ..
	
	

Jehonathan &c.
Jehonathan (or Jonathan) &c.
Obv.

17. 7 2 7 7 7 7 7 X 7 7 7 7 7 7
יהונתן המלך

Jehonathan Hammelek.
Jonathan the King

ALEXANDRA.

Rev.

18. 7 X = 7 and other letters, perhaps
7 X 7 2 7 = בריהא = Queen

ALEXANDER II.

Rev.

19. L 41 W 4 9 4 4 1 1 עלצדר (עש) גדל

Alexandras Gadol.

Alexander great (high Priest).

ANTIGONUS.

Obv.

20. ש 7 1 4 2 3 3 3 4 9 8 2 4 1 1 3 4 3 3 3 3 3 X X X

ביתתיה הכהן הגדל והבר היהודים

Mattathiah Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajebudim.

Matthias the High Priest and Senate of the Jews.

4 U ש. = First year.

9 U ש. = Second year.

FIRST REVOLT.

Obv.

21. ש 7 X W X 4 W שנת שתים

Shenath shtayim. Year two.

22. W 2 4 W X 4 W שנת שלוש

Shenath shalosh. Year three.

Rev.

23. 5 4 7 3 X 9 8 חרות ציון

Cheruth Zion

Deliverance of Zion

SECOND REVOLT.

Obv.

24. 3 3 3 3 9 4 9 4 7 ארעזר הכהן

(usually retrograde).

Eleazar Hakkohen.

Eleazar the Priest.

25. 5 4 1 5 W שבועז
4 7 W 5 נשיא
4 4 9 W 7 ישראל

Shimoun Nasi Israel.

Simon Prince of Israel.

26. or $\alpha\psi\theta\psi\omega$ $\psi\alpha\theta\psi\omega$ שביעיני (for שבעין.)

Shimoun.
Simon.

27. $\psi\chi\omega\alpha\varphi\zeta$ ירושלם

Jerushalem.
Jerusalem.
Rev.

28. $\lambda\varphi\eta\omega\zeta \ \chi\lambda\varphi\tau\lambda \ \chi\theta\alpha \ \chi\varsigma\omega$

שנת אחת לנארת ישראל

Shenath achath Lig^eullath Israel
First year of the redemption of Israel

29. $\lambda\varphi\eta\omega\zeta \ [\chi\psi] \ \eta\theta\lambda\varphi\omega$

שב להר בית ישראל

Schin Beth. Lecheruth Israel.
Second year of the deliverance of Israel.

30. $\psi\lambda\omega\alpha\varphi\zeta \ \alpha\chi \ \eta\theta\lambda$ יחרות ירושלם

Lecheruth Jerushalem.
Of the deliverance of Jerusalem.

* In the above table the legends are in all cases completed, but the legends on the coins themselves are not only often incomplete but blundered ; and the letters sometimes, if they are all on the coins, present impossible forms of words.

The formation of the letters is often carelessly achieved ; so that the argument from epigraphy is a precarious one. Generally speaking the letters are more carefully formed upon the silver coins and copper of larger modules. It seems almost as if there were two scripts, as is the case with Marathi — the one official and particular, the other of a more cursive character and considerably variant in form.

GREEK LEGENDS.

HASHMONEAN FAMILY

Time of John Hyrcanus.

31. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ.
[Money of] King Antiochus the Benefactor (Antiochus VII of Syria). Two dates.

ΑΠΡ. = Era of Seleucidae 181 = B.C. 132.

ΒΠΡ. = — 182 = B.C. 131.

Alexander Jannaeus.

32. Rev. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.**
[Money of] King Alexander.

Alexandra.

33. **ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ.**
[Money of] Queen Alexandra.

Antigonus.

34. Rev. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ.**
[Money of] King Antigonus.

HEROD FAMILY

Herod the Great.

35. **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ.**
[Money of] King Herod.
Date **ΛΓ** = year three.
ⲡ **ⲉⲓⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ** = Three chalcoi.

Herod Archelais.

36. **ΗΡΩ ΔΟΥ ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ.**
[Money of] Herod the Ethnarch.

Herod Antipas.

37. Obv. **ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ.**
[Money of] Herod the Tetrarch.
Dates **Λ ΜΓ** or **Λ ΜΔ** year 43 or 44 or **ΕΤΟ|ΥΣ| ΜΓ** of the
year 43.

38. Rev. **TIBERIAΣ.**
Tiberias (on Lake Gennesareth).

39. Rev. **ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ ΣΕΒ[ΑΣΤΙ].**
In the reign of Caius Caesar Germanicus Augustus.

40. Obv. **ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΥ** (*sic*).
In the reign of Augustus Caesar.

41. Obv. **ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.**
[Money of] Tiberius Augustus Caesar.

42. Rev. **ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ.**
[Money of] Philip the Tetrarch.
Reverse bears date.

Λ ΙΒ — year 12.

Λ ΙΣ — — 16.

Λ ΙΘ — — 19.

Λ ΛΓ — — 33.

Λ ΛΖ — — 37.

Herod Agrippa I.

43. Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΑ.

[Money of] King Agrippa.

Rev. Λ Σ = year 6.

PROCURATORS.

44. Obv. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ.

Money of Caesar.

Rev. Λ ΑΓ = year 33. Coponius

Λ ΑΣ = — 36.

Λ ΑΘ = — 39. / Marcus Ambivius

Λ Μ = — 40. / Annius Rufus.

Λ ΜΑ = — 41.

Valerius Gratus.

45. Obv. ΙΟΥΛ-ΣΕΒ.

[Money of] Julia Augusta.

46. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

[Money of] Caesar.

47. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ.

[Money of] Tiberius.

48. ΤΙΒ·ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

[Money of] Tiberius Caesar.

49. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. With date Λ·ΙΣ = year 16.

[Money of] Tiberius Caesar.

50. Rev. ΤΙΒ.

[Money of] Tiberius.

51. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

[Money of] Caesar.

52. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ.

[Money of] Julia.

53. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ.

[Money of] Julia Augusta.

Dates. Λ Γ year 3.

Λ Δ year 4.

Λ Ε — 5.

Λ ΙΑ — 11.

Λ ΙΣ — 16.

Λ ΙΖ — 17. { Pontius Pilate.

Λ ΙΗ — 18. }

Claudius Felix.

54. Obv. ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜ.

[Money of] Titus Claudius Caesar Germanicus.

55. ΝΕΡΩ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙCΑΡ.
[Money of] Nero Claudius Caesar.

56. Rev. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ.
[Money of] Julia Agrippina.

57. ΒΡΙΤ·ΚΑΙ.
[Money of] Britannicus Caesar.
Date. Λ ΙΔ. Year 14.

58. *Porcius Festus*.
Obv. Λ € ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC.
Year 5 [Money of] Caesar.

59. Rev. ΝΕΡΩΝΟC.
[Money of] Nero.

AFTER FIRST REVOLT.

Roman money commemorating Victory.
Vespasian.

60. Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΟΥΕCΠ ΚΑΙ CΕΒ.
[Money of] the Emperor Vespasian Caesar Augustus.

61. Rev. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑC ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑC.
On the conquest of Judaea.
Titus.

62. Rev. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ ΤΙΤΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒ.
[Money of] the Emperor Titus Caesar Augustus.

63. Rev. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑC· ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑC.
On the Conquest of Judaea.

LATIN LEGENDS.

Vespasian.

64. Obv. IMP. CAES. VESPASIANVS. AVG :
Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus.
The Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus.

65. TP. P.
Tribunitia Potestate. With the Tribunitian power.

66. P. M. or PONT. MAX.
Pontifex Maximus. Chief Priest.

67. COS.
Consul (followed by numeral indicating the year of the Consulate).

68. P. P.
Pater Patriae. His Country's Father.

69. CENS or CENSOR.

Censor.

70. DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESPASIANVS.

The Divine Augustus Vespasian (issued on his death and consequent deification).

71. Rev. VICT.AVG. or VICTORIA AVGVSTI.

Victoria Augusti.

The Victory of Augustus.

72. IVDAEA CAPTA, or sometimes IVDAEA only, or IVD CAP.

The captivity of Judaea.

73. IVDAEA DEVICTA. •

The conquest of Judaea.

74. DE IVDAEIS.

In the matter of the Jews.

75. EX.S.C.

Ex Senatus consulto.

By command of the Senate.

76. TRIVMP.AVG.

Triumphus Augusti.

The triumph of Augustus.

77. VICTORIA NAVALIS.

The naval victory.

Titus.

78. Obv. IMP.T.CAESAR VESPASIANVS.

TR.POT.AVG.P.M.COS.P.P.CENSOR exactly the same as above but T stands for Titus.

79. AVG.F is Augusti Filius — the son of Augustus.

Rev. Similar legends to Vespasian except :

80. IVDAEA NAVALIS.

Judaea sea conquered.

Domitian.

81. Obv. IMP.CAES.DOMIT.AVG.GERM.

Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, with offices as Vespasian and Titus.

82. Rev. VICTOR AVG.

Victoria Augusti.

The Victory of Augustus.

Nerva.

83. Obv. IMP.NERVA CAES.AVG.P.M.TR.P.COS.III P.P.

The emperor Nerva, Caesar, Augustus, Chief Priest endowed with the Tribunitian Power, Consul for the third time, Father of his country.

84. Rev. FISCIVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA.

[To commemorate] the removal of the scandal of the Jewish Tax.

Hadrian.

85. Obv. HADRIANVS.AVG.COS.III.P.P.

Hadrianus Augustus Consul III Pater patriae.

Hadrian Augustus Consul for the third time, his country's Father.

86. Rev. ADVENTVI AVG.IVDAEAE.

[To commemorate] the arrival of Augustus in Judaea.

87. S.C.IVDAEA.

By command of the Senate. Judaea.

CHAPTER II.

When the collector, who is also a student, begins to investigate the series of Jewish coins, he is conscious at first of a not unnatural disappointment.

There are no coins before the Return from the Exile, and even then he is forced to wait until the second century B.C. in order to be quite sure that he has really Jewish coins. He must renounce at once the fables which attribute the invention of money to Tubal Cain, and the pleasant theories which produce shekels of the time of Abraham. As most of the fabrications, which purport to be contemporaneous with the Patriarch or sometimes with King David, are palpable forgeries, a brief description of them may not be out of place here and will serve as a warning to the unwary.

They are quite common, being cast in iron or copper, thinly plated with silver. They probably go back as far as the sixteenth century. Usually they are about as large as a florin. On one side is represented a rude chalice or censer with flames arising and the legend שֶׁלֹּם יִשְׂרָאֵל; on the other a budding almond branch with the legend יְרוּשָׁלַיִם הַחַדְשָׁה, often nonsense.

This legend is invariably in square Hebrew, conclusive of its false origin, because square Hebrew did not come into general use until *the first century before the Christian era, and was never placed upon the Jewish coinage.*

The invention of money as we understand it, issued by authority, of a definite weight and fineness, stamped with a recognisable impress and accepted as a medium of exchange in the relations of commerce or ordinary life, is comparatively modern. The early civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Phœnicia managed to conduct their affairs without it. Clay tablets have been discovered recording money transactions specified by weight; and some Egyptian papyri state that the Egyptians had unstamped pieces of brass, which were used and taken by weight.

Most of the references to money in the earlier books of the Old Testament are to be understood in this fashion.

The first actual mention of money in the Old Testament occurs in Gen. XVII. 13. "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised". The actual word used is כֶּסֶף, which connected with בָּסַף, to become pale, means silver.

That this means an ingot of silver, and how it was used, is clear

from the account of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite.

“ Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the merchant. ” Gen. xxiii, 16.

The actual Hebrew is worth quoting here, because it shews that the primary meaning of shekel (שֶׁקֶל) is a weight, connected with the verb to weigh, שָׁקַל : and that the English word “ money ” is not actually in the original text, which is indicated by the italics of the Authorized Version :

וַיִּשְׁקַל אֲבְרָהָם לְעֶפְרוֹן אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף אֲשֶׁר דָּבַר בְּאָזְנֵי
בְּיַד־הָתָּת אַרְבַּע בִּמְאוֹת שֶׁקֶל כֶּסֶף עִבְרִי לְסֹחֵר :

This view is further strengthened by the fact that Abraham's servant gave Rebekah “ a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten *shekels*’ weight”. Gen. xxiv. 22. Although the English gives “ earring”, the Hebrew has נִזָּהב : which means an earring or nosering. In the case of the latter end of Job the same expression is used. “ Every man also gave him a piece of money and every one an earring of gold ” — אָהָר אֶחָד וְנִזָּהב אֶחָד and would seem to imply a specified weight of gold ring.

This form of bullion was a general one in Egypt as the monuments testify. Indeed ancient Britain had its gold ring-money, and to this day the Oriental chooses to carry his riches in the form of jewellery.

Attention might also be given to such passages as describe the sale of Joseph by his brothers to the Midianites (Gen. xxxvii.28); the bundles of money (Gen. xlii.35) which Jacob's children took with them to purchase corn in Egypt; the wedge of gold of fifty shekels’ “ weight”, obviously an ingot, found in the tent of Achan¹ (Josh : vii-21) and the many references to the Lord's hatred of a false balance, e. g. : Prov. xi.1, xvi.11, which throw a light upon the unchanging avarice of human nature.

We may conclude then, that until almost the eve of the Captivity, references to money all imply ingots of recognized weights and not actual coins. Thus the following divisions of the shekel mentioned are

בֶּקֶט : Bekah. 1/2 shekel.

רֶבֶב : Rebah. 1/4 shekel.

1. The Hebrew properly means “ tongue of gold”. Cf. the golden “ tongue ” discovered at Gezer, *Vide* Macalister : Bible Side-lights from the mound of Gezer, p. 122 and figure 36.

גֶּרָה : Gerah. $1/20$ shekel.

שְׁלִישִׁית הַשֶּׁקֶל : $1/3$ of shekel.

A talent and a mina are moneys of account.

This will pave the way for the invention of coined money, which scholars on the authority of Herodotus (I, 24), are agreed belongs to the Lydians. The earliest coins are simple staters of electrum, a natural alloy, four parts gold and one silver, with striations or indentations of straight lines upon one side; and on the other three incuse depressions, the centre depression being oblong in shape and apparently shewing a running fox. These coins have been attributed to B.C. 700-637 during the reigns of Gyges and Ardys.

Supposing that the Jews (as is not very likely, because they did not at the time occupy a very prominent part in the world's commerce) took advantage of the invention of this money from the first, it would be roughly co-incident with the death of Hezekiah. Other and more elaborate coinage followed : Aegina in B.C. 680 issued electrum coins and in the time of Pheidon, about 669 B.C., struck the first silver coins. These present a sea tortoise on the obverse and an incuse square roughly divided on the reverse. Very soon the legend ΑΙΓΙ (for ΑΙΓΕΙΝΗΤΩΝ) and a dolphin were introduced on the reverse and the square became more carefully formed.

Others can, however, claim the honour of having first struck coins with a distinct type and design on both sides of the piece; somewhere between 566 and 514 B.C. Athens issued the first form of the famous "owls" of antiquity. On the obverse is the head of Athene in a crested helmet, and on the reverse an owl standing in an incuse square, with a spray of olive and berries behind and the legend ΑΘΕ to the right from the top to the bottom of the coin.

A reformed coinage appeared about the time of Hippias B.C. 514-511, which lasted till B.C. 407. So careful were the weight and quality of this issue that it practically became a world-wide coinage accepted by both Greeks and Barbarians in preference to all other coins (Arist. *Ran.* 721-599. *Hist. Num.*, p. 373, 1911 edition, *Head*). When the issue ceased, barbarous imitations in Egypt, India, Persia and Arabia testify to its popularity.

It was in B.C. 587 that Nebuchadnezzar carried the children of Judah to Babylon, more than a hundred years after the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel and the dispersion of the ten tribes became the historical and ethnological puzzle of the ages.

The captives at Babylon and the remnant in the Holy Land must have been acquainted with the "owls".

During all this period there is no trace of any Jewish coins.

The Captivity came to an end in the first year of Cyrus, King of Persia (B.C. 538), when fifty thousand Jews returned to Jerusalem

to build the Temple. The story is told in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. We need not dwell upon the story here except to remark that the Persians, who had acquired the Kingdom of Babylon after the capture of Sardes by Cyrus and the conquest of the Lydian Empire, began to coin money. It is certain that Darius Hystaspis (B. C. 521-486) coined gold money of a high quality (Herodotus IV. 166) and that an abundant issue of gold and silver, commonly called Darics and Sigloi, continued until the victory of Alexander the Great at Arbela B. C. 331, when the Persian Empire was broken, and the Dynasty of the Achaemenidae came to an end. Alexander was master of Asia. Darius (from whom the coin name of Daric is derived, as a Napoleon or a Louis is from the French Kings) and Artaxerxes Longimanus (or Ahasuerus, of the Bible) issued enormous quantities of gold and silver. Double darics, darics and sigloi are well known. The type is always the same. Obv. The great King in kandys, crowned with kidaris, is represented in a half kneeling posture, holding a spear and bow, while the reverse is merely a rough incuse. The Jew on his return from Babylon must have been familiar with these coins and the post-exilic references to money especially in Ezra and Nehemiah (e.g. : Ezra II. 69) are represented by the daric and siglos.

With the success of Alexander the place of these coins was taken by the gold and silver which were issued in his name. Like the Athenian coinage it was so acceptable that its issue continued long after his premature death. The gold (stater) has for obverse a helmeted head of Pallas, and reverse a Niké to left, with the legend **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ** or **ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ** merely; the silver (tetradrachm) has a head of young Heracles in lion skin, possibly a portrait of Alexander, on the obverse, and on the reverse Zeus, half naked, seated on throne to left, holding in his right hand an eagle and in his left a sceptre with the same legend as the gold piece.

This coinage superseded the "owls", and the Jews were obviously familiar with it; for dismissing the theory that the monogram **ΔΙ** which often appears on the reverse stands for Diospolis or Lydia in Palestine, probably **ΙΟΠ** stands for Joppa or Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem.

Among his other exploits Alexander appeared before Jerusalem; and the story runs that he was so impressed by the glory of the High Priest Thaddeus or Yaddous, that he not only refrained from destroying Jerusalem, but actually granted special privileges to the Jews. In virtue of this De Saulcy did not hesitate to ascribe the early Jewish shekels to the time of Alexander. Their proper attribution will be discussed later, but it may be said now that this is clearly a mistaken idea.

The early death of Alexander is one of the mysteries of God's

providence and among earth's tragedies. His vast dominions became the prey of his rival generals, diadochoi as they are sometimes termed. This is no place to consider their ambitions or their conflicts. It is sufficient to say that the Holy Land was the bone of contention between the Seleucid Kings of Syria, who count Seleucus, satrap of Babylon, their founder, and the Lagidae of Egypt, who would look to Ptolemy I as theirs. At various times in the three centuries before Christ the Jews must have been familiar with the moneys issued by these rulers and have found a practical use for them.

We enter upon the actual issue of Jewish coins with the reign of Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) of Syria, and the story as it runs in the book of the Maccabees. The Apocrypha has not a good name among us, but we are free to assert that it contains some of the most valuable historical documents in the world.

Before, however, we consider the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the throne of Syria, which is one of the landmarks of the world's progress, we must briefly review the numismatic history of the great maritime cities of Phoenicia. All this is relevant to the study of Jewish numismatics.

The most important of these for our purpose are Aradus, Tyre and Sidon.

Aradus, the Island City of the northern coast of Phoenicia, began to coin in almost the fifth century B. C. Dagon and Melkarth (Milcom) both appear as types, and dumpy coins were frequent until the conquest of Alexander. Gold and silver coins of his pattern with the monogram **Ρ** are extant, while from B. C. 137-45 a dated coinage of flat fabric exists, presenting on the obverse the turreted head of Tyche, and on the reverse, Athene standing with a plume and palm, and date.

Later on, under Roman domination, Aradus issued, from Tiberius to Gordianus Pius, a colonial and imperial coinage.

Of a similar character is the numismatic history of Tyre, which was first a colony of Sidon and then its rival.

Tyrian coinage begins in the fifth century with the usual dumpy archaic type. Obverse, Melkarth, holding bow and riding over the waves with a dolphin beneath. Reverse, owl with crook and flail, and dates of Phoenician character.

From B. C. 126 to A. D. 56 Tyre, free from the domination of Alexander, the Seleucids, and the Ptolemies, on the celebration of a new era issued an autonomous coinage, of which the flat tetradrachm with the head of Baal on the obverse, and the eagle with club and legend **ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ** dated, is the most characteristic coin.

That this coinage was acceptable to the Jews and largely used by them cannot possibly be doubted from the fact that the five shekels,

which was the price of the redemption by the first born, were ordered expressly to be of "Tyrian weight". (Becchor, VIII, 7.)

The Jews were equally familiar with the coinage of Sidon, where exactly the same transition from an archaic module to the standard flat tetradrachm takes place.

The coins of Gaza, Marathus and Byblus or Gebal also throw a light upon the ancestry of purely Jewish numismatics, while for later developments the coins of Decapolis, Samaria, and Ascalon will give a completeness to a comprehensive Jewish collection.

We come now to the series of coins, which are admittedly Jewish, struck by the Jews as a nation and not as the money of any particular time or locality. At once we are face to face with one of the puzzles and charms of numismatic science.

A series of silver shekels and half shekels, of copper pieces without name of monarch or issuer, but all of them dated, suggests conjectures, which must each stand on its own merits.

We propose in the following classification to assign the first Jewish coins (copper) to the early days of the Maccabees, the silver shekels to Simon and John Hyrcanus, and then the rest is practically plain sailing.

The method most convenient will be to describe the coin and then give the reasons for its particular attribution.

ATtribution OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
1. Two baskets of flowers with citron between : border of dots. L. '7 Æ. 11/12.	Palm tree between two bas- kets : border of dots. L. 6. Wt. 252 grs. ² Pl. I. 1.
2. Two baskets of flowers : border of dots. L. 8. Æ. 10/12.	Citron : border of dots. L. 6. Wt. 142 grs. Pl. I. 2.
3. Basket of branches between two citrons : border of dots. L. 9. Æ. 9/12.	Jewelled chalice : border of dots. L. 6. Wt. 85 grs. Pl. I. 3. 4.

An interesting specimen in the B.M. (British Museum) has an elephant as countermark, suggesting Seleucid times. Like the Seleucid

1. L means legend; and numeral following refers to table of legends supra.

Measurements of coins are in inches and twelfths of inches. Weight in grains.

2. N. B. Weights throughout are given approximately : there is considerable variety in different specimens of the same denomination.

and Ptolemaic coins, they are struck on cast flans with a bevelled edge; which is characteristic of all the Jewish series, till the last revolt. In the present attribution they are considered the earliest Jewish coins, though Reinach attributes them to the first Revolt. The present attribution appears preferable for the following reason, which seems to spring naturally out of the legend on the Reverse.

What does "the Redemption of Zion" mean? In the year 165 B.C. the Maccabees "builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest haply the Gentiles should come and tread them down as they had done aforetime" (1 Macc., IV, 69). This was the crucial point of time in the opposition of the Jew to Antiochus Epiphanes. In B.C. 164, Antiochus IV died. Two years later Demetrius, who had been a hostage at Rome, landed at Tripolis, murdered Antiochus V. Eupator, the son of Epiphanes, and his tutor Lysias "and sat upon the throne of his Kingdom" (1 Macc. VII, 4). Immediately Alcimus (a usurper high priest) and a party of men hostile to the Maccabees appealed to the King, who promptly sent an army under Nicanor against Judas Maccabaeus. The latter defeated Nicanor and at the same time "heard of the fame of the Romans" (1 Macc., VIII, 1) and concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with them. This occurred in the year B.C. 161 and then it may well be that Judas, emulating the practice of the Phoenician cities who had coined bronze coins even under the rule of Epiphanes, had this series of coins struck. They would, therefore, date from the fortification of Zion in B.C. 164 and so the fourth year would be B.C. 161.

The alternative to this is to suppose that they are the coins, apparently copper shekels, half shekels and quarter shekels, which Simon Maccabaeus struck as the outcome of the permission of Antiochus VII Sidetes (of Syria) to coin money "*πρωτην νομισμα* ιδιον νομισμα τη χωρη σου (1 Macc. XV, 5, 6). This would give the date B.C. 139, if the "fourth year" on the coins referred back to B.C. 143, which had been declared "the first of Liberty (cf. 1 Macc. XIV, 27).

The types of the coins, a basket or bundle of branches, palms and willow (lulab) and the citron (ethrog) were taken from the Feast of Tabernacles; for the faithful carried the lulab in the right hand and the ethrog in the left in the Feast and it is worth remembering that the recovery of the Temple and the fortification of Zion were marked by a solemn celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (11 Macc. X, 5-8).

Obverse.

Reverse.

4. A chalice jewelled (except on coins of first year): border of dots: above chalice, date.	A triple lily or spring flower: border of dots.
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Pl. I. 5. 6. 7.

Two denominations :

Shekel. L. 3.	℞. 11/12.	L. 1 or 2.	Wt. 220 grains.
1/2 Shekel L. 4.	℞. 10/12.	L. 1 or 2.	Wt. 110 grains.

No half shekels of the fifth year¹ have been found and the shekels are rougher than the rest in execution. On coins of first year the date is not preceded by the ☸.

The attribution of these coins is the real crux of Jewish Numismatics. They have been variously assigned to the time of Ezra, the High Priest Yaddous or Thaddaeus, contemporary with Alexander the Great, Simon the Maccabee and the period of the First Revolt. To day the claims of the last two are alone worth discussing.

Undoubtedly the strongest case for their attribution to Simon has been made out by M. Theodore Reinach in his book, "Jewish Coins"; and the arguments employed by him seem well nigh irrefutable.

Against these can only be set a somewhat precarious argument based upon the epigraphy; and the negative one, that the name of Simon does not occur upon them, while the fabric and execution of the ascertained Hasmonean coins posterior to the time of Simon, all copper, appear to shew too big a decline from the art of coining to allow that they are the immediate successors of this series.

Two further grounds for their attribution to Simon may be properly added here; and their final attribution left to conjecture, until some countermarked or overstruck coin be found to afford a more certain clue.

In Maccabean times the ruling Jews were fanatically anti-Hellenistic. That indeed was their whole *raison d'être*. This was most assuredly not the case in the time of the First Revolt, when the ruling class belonged to the party of the Sadducees, bitterly opposed to the Pharisees, who were the descendants of the Chasidim or patriotic party, who followed Simon.

Admittedly Simon obtains the right of coinage by the grant of Antiochus VII of Syria. Up to this time, the Jews had been acquainted with the coins of dumpy fabric issued by the famous commercial cities of Phoenicia, Sidon, Tyre and Aradus. On the other hand their supreme Hellenistic enemy, Antiochus Epiphanes, had issued tetradrachms of flat fabric. To have produced coins of flat fabric similar to the Seleucid or Ptolemaic coinage would have been a public surrender to Hellenistic ideas, which is inconceivable of the staunch patriotic Maccabees. It was the natural result of Hellenistic influence, as may be seen from the fact that the very same Phoeni-

1. Half Shekels of the fourth year, which are very rare, are not to my mind beyond suspicion.

cian cities, who whole-heartedly embraced Hellenistic ideas, struck tetradrachms of flat fabric upon the first opportunity of autonomy. This was the case with Aradus in B.C. 137, Tyre B.C. 126, Sidon B.C. 111.

By A.D. 66 the position was entirely different. Greek literature, Greek art and Greek ideas were no longer anathema. Leading Rabbis could have been easily found as enthusiasts for Greek culture. There would have been no point at all in the issue of a coinage, which exhibits an effete archaism and an opposition to current practice — Greek, if you will, in origin. That is abundantly clear from the coinage of the second revolt, when the false Messiah Barcochba with the utmost patriotic appeal does not hesitate to issue flat tetradrachms.

Secondly, the type of the coins has a probable interpretation, if they are Maccabean. Simon, a patriotic Jew, Θασσι by surname, that is “the burst of spring”, placed upon the coins the spring flower, a lily or a rhododendron to designate himself (ἱερον ὑμνητα) as the Book of Maccabees distinctly says. On the reverse he placed the jewelled chalice to indicate his priesthood. It was not until the time of Aristobulus that the Hasmonean ruler called himself “king” and then he did not dare to put his dignity upon the coins. Simon was not of the true priestly rank and therefore did all he could to make his claim acceptable. It is obvious that, if this interpretation is correct, he took for his ideal Onias, the Son of Simon; and found for that ideal in the Book of Ecclesiasticus L. 6-9 a type for his coinage¹.

This interpretation fits in with all the known facts of history. It seems a gratuitous waste of record for the writer in I Macc. XV 5, 6, to state that Antiochus VII gave the Jews the right of coinage, if they never used it or never used it to the full. The Phoenician Cities issued municipal coinage under the suzerainty of the Seleucid monarchs. As a mark of autonomy they promptly issued silver. Can it really be doubted that the Jews did the same? If they were indeed less important, they were always more troublesome and curiously succeeded throughout their existence in obtaining more privileges than their neighbours from their masters. The soundest numismatic interpretation of the passage quoted from I Macc., can only indicate a silver coinage. The right of striking copper would hardly be worth chronicling. Nor does the literal translation of the original Greek necessitate Simon putting his own name on the money. The “canting” device, as has been suggested, would be adequate. Further the revocation of the right by Antiochus VII, when he broke all the former treaties (I Macc. XV, 27); his initial failure and subsequent success, after the death of Simon, against

1. *Vide Num. Chron.*, Fourth series, Vol. XI.

John Hyrcanus, involving the fall of Jerusalem in B.C. 134, would account for the cessation of the silver coinage subsequent to the first year of John Hyrcanus.

If the grant merely referred to a copper coinage, it is hard to see how the Hashmonean princes, who never attained so full a measure of freedom as Simon did from Antiochus VII, ventured to issue any coins at all without a definite rescript permitting them to do so; and of such rescript there is no mention in history.

With the fall of Jerusalem some time before April B.C. 134, the Jewish coinage appears to cease and probably did not begin again until the death of Antiochus VII in B.C. 129, when a treaty with Rome was concluded and an alliance made with Alexander Zebina.

Antiochus VII (Sidetes) appears to have signalized his success at Jerusalem by the following coins :

Obverse.		Reverse.	
5 ¹ . Lily : border of dots.		Anchor : below date ΑΠΡ ² (181 = B.C. 132). ΒΠΡ (182 = B.C. 131).	
No. L.	Æ. 9/12.	L. 31.	Pl. I. 8.
Half Chalcous.		Wt. 48 grains.	

The alliance with Alexander Zebina allowed John Hyrcanus to strike money; and a series begins which only ends with the decay and conquest of the Hashmonean family by the Romans. The last of them, Antigonus Mattathias, whose full name we have solely on the evidence of the coins, established himself upon the throne at Jerusalem in B.C. 40 by the help of the Parthian King, Pacorus. Rome treated him as a rebel. An expedition was sent out under Caius Sosius, a lieutenant of Mark Antony; took Jerusalem in B.C. 37, and after scourging Antigonus, beheaded him — an indignity which had never before been offered to a King. In his place Herod was installed as King.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

John Hyrcanus (after B.C. 129).

Obverse.		Reverse.	
6. Wreath of olive.		A poppy head between two cornucopiae.	
Dilepton.	Æ. 8/12.	No. L.	Wt. 48 grains.
L.			

1. This is more probably a lotus flower. Cf. the ornamentation of lotus flowers and seed vessels on the hem of the High Priest's robe, which is called in Holy Scripture, "bells and pomegranates". Exod. XXVIII. 33, 34. *Vide* "Egypt and Israel" by IV. M. Flinders Petrie (S. P. C. K.), p. 62.

2. The date on the coin refers to the Seleucid era.

- (a) 10. The א probably signifies the alliance with Alexander Zebina. Pl. I. 40.
 (b) 11.
 (c) 12. The רצח is interesting. Apparently Judas Aristobulus was the first of the family to call himself King. למלך

An unique coin in the B.M. from the Hamburger collection deserves mention : — Its module is slightly larger than the remainder of the series.

Obverse.	Reverse.
7. Helmet : border of dots.	Double cornucopiae : border of dots.

Æ. 9/12.

Wt. 56 grains.

U. S. on Rev.

५४१४३ ४१४४४ ४४४ ४४४ ४४४

Pl. I. 9.

Jeho... vehacheber Hajehudim
John and the senate of the Jews.

Chalcous.

Judas Aristobulus B.C. 106-105.

Coins similar in type and weight to John Hyrcanus', but L. 13. The smallness of the issue makes these coins very rare². Pl. I. 42.

Alexander Jannaeus. B.C., 105-78.

Obverse.	Reverse.
8. Wreath of olive.	A poppy head between two cornucopiae.

L.

No. L.

(a) 15. Restruck with Greek legends. Pl. I. 15.

(b) not restruck. Pl. I. 16.

(c) 16.

Special types : —

Obverse.	Reverse.
9. Half opened flower : border of dots.	Anchor within circle.
L. 14. Æ. 9/12.	L. 32. Wt. 47 grains.
	Pl. I. 13.

I. I owe this reading to Mr G. F. Hill, the Keeper of Medals, in the British Museum.

2. They are often confused with the coins of Alexander Jannaeus. No 8. (c).

10. Palm branch : border of dots ¹ .	A lily, border of dots.
L. 14. Æ. 9/12.	No. L. Wt. 47 grains.
	Pl. I. 14.

11. Sun with 8 rays : in intermediate spaces L.	Anchor : border of dots.
L. 14. Æ. 9/12.	L. 32. Wt. 45 grains.
	Pl. I. 17.

Alexandra.

Obverse.	Reverse.
12. Anchor : border of dots.	Sun with eight rays, in the intermediate spaces of probably a Hebrew Legend.
L. 33. Æ. 9/12.	L. 18. Wt. 46 grains.

This attribution remains highly doubtful : but in the face of such authorities as De Saulcy and Wigan, who both accepted it, it would be rash to deny its probability.

John Hyrcanus II B.C., 69. *Aristobulus II* B.C., 69-63. *John Hyrcanus II* (second reign) B.C., 63-57. *Alexander II* B.C., 63-57.

No certain attribution can be made, but the following coins probably belong to this period.

Obverse.	Reverse.
13. Anchor within circle.	Sun with eight rays : border of dots. L outside border.
L. 32. Æ. 4-6/12.	L. 19. Wt. 15-30 grains.
	Pl. I. 18.

Probably *Alexander II* (B.C. 57.) or *John Hyrcanus II* (B.C. 47-40). This coin is the lepton and so probably the 'widow's mite' of the Gospel.

Antigonus (Mattathias) B.C., 40-37.

Obverse.	Reverse.
14. Wreath : border of dots.	Two cornucopiae with date between : border of dots.
L. 34. Æ. 11/12.	L. 20. Wt. 220 grains.
	Pl. I. 21.

1. Cf. Pl. I. 11. Same type under *John Hyrcanus*. Mr Hill suggests L. 10 as reading.

15. Legend within wreath.

Cornucopiae between vine?
leaves.

L. 34. Æ. 5/12.

L. 20. Wt. 110 grains.
Pl. I. 20.

16. Uncertain. Obverse.

Reverse.

The tetrastyle screen between
the Holy Place and the Holy
of Holies : border of dots. (?)

Seven branched candlestick :
border of dots.

No. L. Æ. 7/12.

L. BAZ...T.
==? ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ.
Wt. 46 grains.

Pl. VII. 6.

The attribution of the coins complete, they deserve a moment's study from the witness they bear to the history of the Jews in the first century and a half before Christ. It was a time of transition for the East. After the death of Antiochus VII, the last great successor of Seleucus Nicator, his empire fell away under the advance of the Parthians, the Arabs and other "barbarians"; until its shadow of a shade was grasped by Tigranes of Armenia. The Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties perished, but their influence had not passed and the day of the East was not come.

The Jews regained the kingdom of old; the heroic struggle of the Maccabees found its reward, but could not escape the price. Israel became a nation again: but once more *Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked*. The Pharisees were poor successors of the Chasidim, and the later Hasmoneans of the patriotic Maccabees. Seleucid rule waned; but the Hellenistic ideas of the Seleucids gained the day. The high priest became king. Aristobulus was the first to style himself so; and his successor Alexander Jannaeus did not scruple to place his title upon his coins; and with that he flung all else over board; for his coins bear a Greek inscription as well as Hebrew. If our attribution of 16 is correct, then the last known coin of the Hasmoneans not only omitted a Hebrew legend altogether, but dared a type which would have been inconceivable in earlier days. The mystery of the Temple was laid bare, and with Greek legend the heathen had entered into the inheritance of Israel.

If then the Jews were holding out a hand of friendship to Greek thought and ready to do their share in Hellenizing Asia Minor, they did not estimate rightly the new power in the world. The

1. I have connected this coin in the Illustrations with the Mohammedan coins presenting the seven branched candlestick. I have no real confidence that it belongs to Antigonus.

CHAPTER III

With the revolt and degrading execution of Antigonus Mattathias the Hasmonean Dynasty closed. The last Mattathias was a pitiable successor to that glorious Mattathias who had begun the family's fortunes by saving his country from the Gentile.

The defeat of Antigonus had been accomplished by the help of the Romans, who were only too ready to enter upon the scene of Jewish politics. They were the true inheritors of the kingdom and ideal of Alexander the Great. They had rolled back the rising tide of Armenian victory on the fall of the House of Seleucus. The Maccabees had appealed to Rome; and in B.C. 63¹ Pompey had decided in favour of the claims of Hyrcanus in his quarrel with his brother Aristobulus; and now it was Caius Sosius, a lieutenant of Mark Antony, who was called in to crush Antigonus. An interesting copper coin of Sosius, commemorating the event, exists.

A new actor, who was to play an important part in the world's drama was the master mind behind Sosius. Herod the Great, the Edomite or Idumæan, was the rival of Antigonus. He was the son of a certain Antipater, who had been Mayor of the Palace in the reign of Hyrcanus II and had been appointed Procurator of Judæa by Julius Cæsar in B.C. 47. His mother was Cypros, an Arabian. His sympathies, if such a word can properly be used of a blood-thirsty maniac like Herod, were entirely Hellenistic; and he endeavoured to introduce Greek culture and even Greek games into the Holy City. His coins with their types of Macedonian helmet, tripod and such-like amply prove this, while an interesting small copper coin with the type of an eagle, probably refers to the golden Eagle which he set upon the pediment of the Temple with an utter disregard for the feelings of his Jewish subjects. His building of the Temple was rather to gratify his artistic projects than from any love for the religion which it enshrined. He married in all ten wives, of whom Malthace, the mother of Antipas and Archelaus is the best known.

His reign was a continual deluge of blood. After the death of Antigonus, he signalled his accession to the throne of Judæa, which he owed to Mark Antony, by the murder of all the members of the Sanhedrin except two. No one was safe from the monster, whose atrocities were so infamous, that Josephus does not even

1. Pl. III. 18. 19.

trouble to record the slaughter of the Innocents — so insignificant must it have been beside the wholesale massacres of his reign.

After the battle of Actium (B.C. 31) Herod obtained his kingdom from Octavius, to which were added in B.C. 25 the regions of Trachonitis, Auranitis and Batanea. It was characteristic that on his deathbed he ordered the execution of some of the Jewish nobles, whom he had imprisoned in the Hippodrome at Jericho, in order that mourners might not be wanting at his funeral.

His coinage, which is all in copper, is abundant and interesting¹.

ATtribution OF COINS.

Herod the Great. B.C. 37 — B.C. 4.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
17. Macedonian helmet with cheek pieces, between two palm-branches ² .		Tripod in field to l. $\text{L} = \text{year}$ 3. B.C. 38 or B.C. 35, in field r. P trichalcous, the value of the coin.	
No. L.	Æ. 1 inch.	L. 35.	Wt. 94 grs. Pl. II. 1.
18. Similar, but star above helmet.		Similar.	
19. Small helmet.		Curiously wrought shield.	
L. 35.	Æ. 9/12.	No. L.	Wt. 85 grs. Pl. II. 2.
20. Winged Caduceus: border of dots. In field l., date L P .		Pomegranate between two branches; border of dots.	
L. 35.	Æ. 9/12.	No. L.	Wt. 82 grs. Pl. II. 3.
Obverse.		Reverse.	
21. Similar: but no date.		Ear of corn between branches: border of dots.	
L. 35.	Æ. 7/12.	No. L.	Wt. 68 grs.
22. Acrostolium: border of dots. In field left, date L P , to right P .		Corn ear between branches: border of dots.	
L. 35.	Æ. 6/12.	No. L.	Wt. 49 grs.

1. *Vide* S. Matt II, 1-22. S. Luke I, 5.

2. I give this because Madden does, but I am very sceptical as to its existence. I suspect it is really only a badly preserved specimen of no. 18. I may say Mr Hill agrees with me in this.

23. Helmet : border of dots. Double cornucopiae : border of dots.

L on both sides erased : probably some form of 35. Æ. 9/12.
Wt. 67 grs.

24. Tripod between two Wreath with X inside (? mark of value Chalcous).
branches. Border of dots.

No. L. Æ. 8/12. L. 35. Wt. 45 grs.
Pl. II. 4.

Note. Smaller denominations of the above occur with unimportant variations : e. g., acrostolium with rude wreath : trefoil (?) with ditto.

25. Anchor : border of dots. Poppy head between two cornucopiae united at base : border of dots.

L. (variously disposed) 35. No. L. Wt. 28 grs.
Æ. 5/12. Pl. II. 5.

26. Legend only : border of dots. Anchor in wreath.

L. 35 or part thereof. Æ. 5/12. ? No. L. Wt. 28 grs.

27. Cornucopia : border of dots. L. on either side. Eagle : border of dots.

L. 35, or part. Æ. 4/12. No. L. Wt. 16 grs.
Pl. II. 6.

Note. Variations from the above and degrees of careful workmanship are common. It is likely that it will be long before any complete classification of the abundant coinage of Herod the Great will be complete. Historically the two most interesting coins are no. 18, which no doubt contains a reference to the Star of Bethlehem; and no. 27, which shews the eagle placed by Herod on the Temple.

Herod Archelaus. B.C. 4, — A.D. 6.

Herod Archelaus was the son of Herod the Great and his Samaritan wife, Malthace. He was brought up at Rome and originally cut out of his father's will at the instance of his eldest brother Antipater. Herod, however, made a change in his will, and Archelaus succeeded him in the "kingdom" of Judaea, Samaria and Idumaea. His accession was stoutly opposed and it was only after the massacre of 3000 of his enemies, that he made his position sure. Refusing to accept the title "king" from anyone except Augustus, he went to Rome to plead his cause against his brother Antipas and other rivals. The Emperor confirmed him in his "kingdom" with the title Ethnarch, which appears on his coins and means the ruler of the nation. It was through fear of him, that S. Joseph with the

Holy Child and Mary, His Mother, turned aside on the return from Egypt after the death of Herod the Great, and dwelt at Nazareth in Galilee. This is the only direct reference to him in Holy Scripture (S. Matt. II, 22) but there is supposed to be a veiled allusion to him in the Parable of the Pounds (S. Luke XIX, 14), being the king whom his citizens hated. This is sufficiently true to fact, because his cruelty and utter disregard for Jewish Law and custom, as for example in his marriage with Glaphyra, his brother's widow, caused such frequent complaints to be made, that in the end Augustus summoned him to Rome in A.D. 6 and banished him to Vienne, where he died. His kingdom was confiscated and put under the administration of a Roman Procurator.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
28. Anchor : border of dots. L. 36 (usually in part). Æ. 5/12.	Jewelled oak wreath. L within: border of dots. L. 36 (remainder or part). Wt. 16 grs. Pl. II. 10
29. Prow of ship : border of dots. L. 36 (part). Æ. 5/12	Similar to last. Pl. II. 7. Wt. 16 grs.
30. Double cornucopiac : border of dots. L. 36 (part). Æ. 9/12.	Galley with or without mast : border of dots. L. 36 (remainder). W. 47 grs. Pl. II. 8.

Note. Smaller denominations with unimportant variations are frequent.

31. Bunch of grapes : border of dots. L. 36 (half). Æ. 7/12.	Helmet with tuft and cheek pieces : in field left, caduceus : border of dots. Pl. II. 9. L. 36 (remainder). Wt. 35 grs.
32. Similar to last. L. 36 (half). Æ. 7/12.	Caduceus : border of dots. L. 36 (remainder). Wt. 35 grs.

Note. As in the case of the coins of Herod the Great, there are minor variations of type and probably fresh finds will produce new types altogether.

Herod Antipas. B.C. 4 — A.D. 40.

This is the Herod, who is so frequently mentioned in the Gospel narrative. Like the last he was the son of Herod the Great and the

Samaritan Malthace. Originally intended by his father as his heir, the change in his will gave him only Galilee and Peraea, of which he became Tetrarch. Married to the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, he conceived a guilty passion for Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, whom he married. His character was a mixture of cruelty, caprice and cunning; "that fox", Our Lord calls him. Like the rest of his family, who had opportunity, he was a great builder, and the city of Tiberias, from which his coins were issued, long remained the evidence of his enthusiasm. It will be remembered that it was the outcome of his relations with Herodias, which caused him to put S. John Baptist to death; while Pilate effected a reconciliation with him, over a previous quarrel, by sending Our Lord to be tried by him. In the end Herodias proved his ruin. She urged him to go to Rome to obtain the same title of king, as had been conferred upon his nephew Agrippa, with the only result, that his enemies found the ear of the Emperor, and Antipas was banished to Spain, where Herodias accompanied him until his death. Bible References. S. Matt XIV, 1, 3, 6, 9. S. Mark VI, 14-27. S. Luke III, 1, 19; VIII, 3; IX, 9; XIII, 31; XXIII, 7-15. Acts IV, 27; XIII, 1.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

The type is generally the same, with but slight variations, in all modules, ranging from $\text{Æ. } 11/12$ to $\text{Æ. } 7/12$. Some specimens are dated.

Obverse.	Reverse.
33. Palm branch : border of dots.	Wreath with L. within.
L. 37. $\text{Æ. } 11/12$ to $\text{Æ. } 7/12$.	L. 38 or 39. Wt. 230 grs. to 60 grs. Pl. II. 11.

A variety $\text{Æ. } 9/12$ exhibits a fruit tree, palm or fig, on the obverse, with usual reverse, and L. 39 and 37. It is dated $\text{L}\Delta\Delta$, that is A.D. 30-31.

Herod Philip I.

He was the husband of Herodias, and by her the father of Salome. No coins are known to exist, which can be attributed to him.

Herod Philip II, B.C. 4. — A.D. 34.

He was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra; mentioned in S. Luke III, 1. He married the notorious Salome and built Caesarea

Philippi (S. Matt. XVI, 13), which was the most noteworthy event of his unimportant reign. He was buried at Bethsaida, which he had renamed Julias, in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus. Perhaps this is the city mentioned in S. Mark VIII, 22. S. Luke IX 10.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
34. Laureate head of Augustus to right, border of dots. L. 40. Æ. 8/12.	Tetrastyle Temple with date between pillars: border of dots. L. 42. Wt. 95 grs. Pl. II. 12.
35. Similar head of Tiberius. L. 41. Æ. 8/12.	Similar. L. 42. Wt. 65 grs. Pl. II. 13.

Note. For dates *vide* Table of L. no. 42.

Herod Agrippa I. A.D., 37-44.

The son of Aristobulus and Berenice and therefore the grandson of Herod the Great. Born in B.C. 11, he was brought up at Rome, where he became the close friend of the Emperor Caius, as he was afterwards; and of his successor Claudius. This friendship is indicated by the title **ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ**, which he placed upon some of his coins. An unfortunate remark of his, to the effect that he wished Caius might succeed Tiberius, caused the latter to throw him into prison, where he remained until the Emperor's death. Immediately released by Caius upon his accession, he was first given the tetrarchy of Herod Philip II and then that of Herod Antipas. On the accession of Claudius he was also given Judaea, Samaria and other territory, until the whole of Herod the Great's kingdom came into his hands. Probably this is why he styles himself **ΜΕΓΑΣ** upon some of his coins. He cared to live at Jerusalem and behaved as a strict Jew. Hence his persecution of the Church. It was he who put James, the brother of John, to death, and threw S. Peter into prison, while the account of his miserable death is to be found in the same chapter (XII) of the Acts. He was a great builder and in particular lavished his pains upon the city of Berytus.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
36. Umbrella: border of dots.	Three ears of corn on one stalk: in field on either side, date

L5. Border of dots.

L. 43.

Æ. 7. 12.

L. 43.

Wt. 40 grs.

Pl. II. 36.

Other dates besides L. 43 have been published : e : g : L € , L Z , L H and L Θ , but their reading must remain doubtful.

There are some exceedingly interesting non-Jewish coins of Agrippa¹; but they must be omitted here. One of them shews the portrait of Agrippa: the first of the Herod family to venture this upon his coins.

The eldest brother of Agrippa was known as Herod, king of Chalcis, but he has left no coins. On his death the Emperor Claudius gave his kingdom to Agrippa II, the son of Agrippa I and his wife Cypros. He was only seventeen years of age when his father died, and though Claudius was ready to give him his father's dominions, he was persuaded that his youth was too tender; and Judæa was entrusted to the procurator Cuspius Fadus.

Agrippa II² issued coins, as king of Chalcis, some of which bear his portrait, but they cannot be said to belong to the Jewish series. Yet another Herod must be mentioned, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, and great grandson of Herod the Great, who was king of Chalcis and parts of Armenia. A. D. 54-92 (?). Bronze coins of him are extant, as also bronze with portraits of himself and his wife Salome³. With, them the house of Herod ended and a new era began for the chosen people, of infinite importance, because it was to close in the destruction of Jerusalem and the scattering of the Holy Nation to the ends of the earth.

I. Pl. II. 15.

2. Pl. II, 16, 17, Pl. IV, 5.

3. Vide *Hist. Num.*, p. 809.

CHAPTER IV

While it is true that Herod the Great had his kingdom confirmed to him by Augustus, yet it was only with the banishment of Herod Archelaus in A.D. 6. that the Romans had the disposition of the Holy Land really in their hands for the first time. They were the paramount power in the Western world; and Asia Minor had practically yielded to their sway. The Seleucid house had fallen to Tigranes of Armenia in B.C. 83, and Tigranes had been defeated in B.C. 69 by Lucullus.

There was at the beginning of the Christian era no other serious claimant to the Empire of Alexander the Great. His immediate successors and descendants had failed; and in that tiny corner of the world, which we know as Palestine, Jewish rulers had been tried and in the person of Archelaus had been found wanting. Rome was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity. Judaea was made a Roman Province; and the Emperor Augustus appointed Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, the Cyrenius of S. Luke II, 2, as Propractor of Syria, (ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας) with Coponius as first Procurator (ἐπίτροπος or ἑπαρχος) under him, possessing the significant power of life and death.

Three years later Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius took his place, to be followed by Annius Rufus, who was Procurator at the death of Augustus in A.D. 14. Next year Tiberius sent Valerius Gratus to succeed him. After holding office for eleven years, he was in turn followed by Pontius Pilate, whose term of office lasted from A.D. 26 to A.D. 35 or 36. It therefore covers the three years of our Lord's Public Ministry, Crucifixion and Resurrection. The deposition of Pilate and his consequent exile appear to have led to some confusion in the government of Judaea. Vitellius, the propractor of Syria, who had deposed Pilate, appointed Marcellus, a friend of his, as Manager (ἐπιμελητής) of Judaea. Tiberius died in A.D. 37 and was succeeded by Caligula. Marcellus was sent to Judaea as Hipparch, while Agrippa I received the first part of his dominions, as has been seen, and rapidly obtained from the next Emperor, Claudius, all the kingdom of his grandfather, Herod the Great. No more procurators were appointed until the death of Agrippa in A.D. 44, when Rome, considering that his son, Agrippa II, was too young to rule, appointed Cuspius Fadus, a Roman knight. As he and his immediate successors, Tiberius

Alexander (A.D. 46-48) and Ventidius Cumanus (A.D. 48-52) apparently did not issue any coins, they may be passed by, and notice taken of the appointment of Felix, whose name was either Claudius or Antonius, in A.D. 52 under the Emperor Claudius. This was the Felix by whom S. Paul was tried. He left the Apostle for the judgment of Porcius Festus, who superseded him in A.D. 60, after the accession of Nero. A year afterwards he died, and Nero sent Albinus to succeed him early in A.D. 61. His term of office was disgraced by the grossest maladministration, and in A.D. 64, being suspected of too ambitious designs, he was superseded by Gessius Florus. Matters went now from bad to worse. The Jews had never taken kindly to their Roman masters; and outbreaks of Messianic fanaticism were met by the Procurator with the most savage and unsympathetic repression. The administration of Florus was not only unhappy but even in Roman eyes reprehensible. In his second year the first Revolt blazed out. What provocation the Holy Nation suffered is clear from the words of the Roman historian Tacitus, who sums up the situation with his usual terseness: "Duravit patientia Judaeis usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem; sub eo bellum ortum". The blow was struck for freedom which only resulted in the long prophesied destruction of Jerusalem.

Although the coins of those Procurators who issued them, do not either by any variety of type or skill of workmanship possess an interest for their own sakes, on the other hand they do give rise to some significant reflections. To start with, they were not struck under the authority of the Senate, as they do not bear the initials, *s.c.*; but under that of the Emperor, as Judaea was an imperial district. But they bear no portrait of the reigning Caesar, who did not dare to impress the witness of his new religious cult upon them. Augustus was forced to bow before Jehovah in the proudest prerogative of his monarchy. Only inanimate objects and floral wreaths are represented. They are evidently the work of Jewish craftsmen. They are all of one module and of bronze¹. Probably their denomination is a dilepton² or quadrans. They are struck upon cast flans, which are often so imperfectly finished as to shew the marks of the casting quite clearly. Blunders are frequent in inscriptions, and the workmanship is usually inferior, although some finer specimens are extant. They weigh about 35 grs. and may be represented by $\text{Æ. } 7/12$.

1. But see *infra*.

2. Cf. S. Mark XII. 42, "two mites, which make a tarthing" (λεπτά δύο, ὅτετι: κοδράντης).

3. The patience of the Jews lasted until the time of the Procurator Gessius Florus; under him war broke out.

ATtribution of coins

Obverse.	Reverse.
37. Ear of corn : border of dots.	Palm-tree with fruit : border of dots.
L. 44.	No. L. Pl. III. 4.

The date is to be found on either side of the Palm-tree on the Reverse. During the reign of Augustus the type remains the same; and coins are to be assigned to the different procurators according to the dates which they bear. They are as follows.

ΛΑΓ. This is the year 33 of Augustus, that is A.D. 6. The coin was then issued by Coponius.

ΛΑϚ. This is the year 36, that is A.D. 9; and the coin belongs to Marcus Ambivius.

It must be confessed that the similarity of the gamma and the stigma, combined with rough workmanship of the coins, makes the previous date somewhat doubtful.

ΛΑΘ. This is the year 39, that is A.D. 12.

ΛΜ. This is the year 40, that is A.D. 13.

ΛΜΑ. This is the year 41, that is A.D. 14.

These three last coins were then issued by Annius Rufus.

The types are insignificant and merely refer to the natural fertility of Judaea, and seem to have been copied from similar bronze coins of Tyre, issued by the Seleucid kings.

With the accession of Tiberius a welcome variety of type breaks the monotony.

ATtribution of coins.

Obverse.	Reverse.
38. Wreath, within which L. : border of dots.	Two cornucopiae about pomegranate : above, date ΛΑ : border of dots.
L. 45.	No. L. Date is Year one, that is A.D. 14. 15.

Much doubt has been thrown upon the proper attribution of the above piece; but there exists a piece similar in type; viz: —

39. Wreath within which L. : border of dots.	Two cornucopiae, between which L.B. , that is Year 2, A.D. 15-16. Border of dots.
L. 51.	L. 50 above cornucopiae.

40. Wreath within which **L** : Olive branch : border of dots :
border of dots. in field right and left date **LB**,
as above.

L. 52. No **L**. **Pl. III. 2.**

41. Caduceus between two cornucopiae : border of dots ; in Wreath, within which **L** :
field right and left date **LF**, that border of dots.
is Year three, A.D. 16-17.

L. 47 above Caduceus. **L**. 46. **Pl. III. 3.**

42. Wreath, within which **L** : Triple lily : border of dots :
border of dots. in field right and left, date **LF**.

L. 51 or 52. No **L**. **Pl. III. 4.**

43. Vine-leaf : border of dots : Diota : border of dots : in field
above **L**. right and left, date **LD**, that is
Year four, A.D. 17-18.

L. 47. **L**. 51. **Pl. III. 5.**

44. Similar but

L. 52. No **L**. **Pl. III. 6.**

45. Wreath, within which **L** : Palm branch : border of dots :
border of dots. in field, right and left, date.

L. 48. **L**. 52. **Pl. III. 7.**

Certain dates are **LD**, year four, A.D. 17-18.

LE, year five, A.D. 18-19.

LIA, year 11, A.D. 24-25.

Other possible dates are **LF**, year 6, A.D. 19-20 ; **LZ**, year 7,
A.D. 20-21 ; **LH**, year 8, A.D. 21-22 ; **LO**, year 9, A.D. 22-23 ;
LI, year 10, A.D. 23-24, and perhaps **LII**, year 12, A.D. 25-26.

All these from No. 38 belong to Valerius Gratus, who was suc-
ceeded by Pontius Pilate.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.

46. Simpulum : border of dots.
Date **LI**, year 16, A.D. 29-30.

L. 49.

Reverse.

Three ears of corn, bound
together : border of dots.

L. 53. **Pl. III. 8.**

47. Augur's wand : border of
dots.

L. 49.

Wreath : within which date :
border of dots.

No **L**. **Pl. III. 9.**

There are three dates, viz : — **LI**5, year 16, A.D. 29-30, and the two following years, **LI**2 and **LI**H.

The next known coins belong to Felix in the reign of Claudius.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
48. Two palm branches crossed : border of dots.	L. within wreath : border of dots.
L. 54.	L. 56. Pl. III. 10

There are two dates on the obverse, viz : — **LI**7 and **LI**Δ, that is the years 13 and 14, corresponding respectively to A.D. 53-54 and 54-55.

Madden points out that the special interest of these two coins lies in the fact that they are the only coins to tell us that the family name of Julia was Agrippina.

Another type is as follows :

Obverse.	Reverse.
49. Two shields and javelins crossed : border of dots.	Palm-tree with fruit : L. above and below : date on either side of tree, LI Δ, year 14, A.D. 54-55 : border of dots.
L. 55.	L. 57. Pl. III. 11.

Felix, as the Acts tells us, was succeeded by Festus ; and he apparently issued the following coin.

Obverse.	Reverse.
50. Palm-branch : border of dots.	Wreath, within which L. : border of dots.
L. 58.	L. 59. Pl. III. 12. 13.

This coin, which closes the series, is extraordinarily blundered ; and some forty variations exist.

Under Gessius Florus, the Revolt blazed out. If the present attribution is correct, then there are but insignificant numismatic remains of the life and death struggle of the Jews. It will be sufficient here that the cause of quarrel was the conflicting claim, which the Jews and Greeks both made, to the city of Caesarea. The Romans favoured the former, and added insult to injury by plundering the treasures of the Temple for seventeen talents on the ground, "that Caesar wanted them". The Queen Bernice pleaded barefoot before Florus, Agrippa II spoke eloquently for peace, but

to no effect. The Procurator would not give way and the Jews had already broken out into insurrection. The sacrifices, which had been offered for the welfare of the Roman Empire ceased. Eleazar, the Captain of the Temple, massacred the Roman garrison and held the Holy City. Cestius Gallus the Roman Governor of Syria, advanced against the Temple, but was utterly defeated and the Revolt triumphed in the month Eloul or September A.D. 66.

The two following coins can alone with certainty be attributed to the time of the Revolt.

Obverse.	Reverse.
51. Diota : border of dots. L. 21.	Vine-leaf : border of dots. L. 23. Pl. III. 15.
52. Diota with cover : border of dots. L. 22.	Vine-leaf : border of dots. L. 23. Pl. III. 16.

The weight of these coins, which with a possible exception are copper, is about 45 grs. and their size $\text{Æ. } 7/12$; they are struck upon cast flans and have bevelled edges. Probably the denomination is the half-chalcous.

An interesting coin in the Hunter collection is of the same type as No. 51, but it is in silver. I possess a silver coin of the crossed palm type of Felix (No. 48), and there is a curious piece in the B.M., which purports to be a quarter shekel of the general procuratorial type, also in silver¹.

It is easy to say that these coins are forgeries and dismiss the matter in an off-hand fashion, but it is supremely unwise and unscientific. At least they require as much disproving as proving; and before being relegated to the limbo of the false, they had better be kept and stored to await corroboration from further finds or final condemnation to the melting pot, when the verdict of many more students is unanimous.

1. As by Mr Hill's kindness I have been able to figure this piece **Pl. III. 14** it is worth describing in detail. Obv. Three palm branches tied together : border of dots **רַבִּי יְהוֹנָתָן** = a quarter. Rev. Wreath of palm tied by X : within **א** = γ = 4 : border of dots. $\text{Æ. } 8/12$. Weight $51 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. If this silver coin is genuine, it surely has a real bearing upon the attribution of the silver shekels and half shekels. The mint that turned them out was incapable of such a poor piece of work as this coin, which in point of style and fabric is poles apart from them. Equally interesting and indubitably genuine are the small Æ. in the B.M. Collection of which the description is, Obv. Amphora fluted with curved handles : border of dots : inscription indecipherable around. Rev. Vine leaf or palm branch : border of dots : inscription indecipherable : $\text{Æ. } 6/12$. Weight $16 \frac{1}{2}$ grs. **Pl. III. 17.**

The Revolt lasted for four years, doomed from the beginning to disaster not only because of the superior power of the Romans, but because of the fierce partizanship of its own leaders and their parties. *Tres duces, tot exercitus* sneered the Roman historian Tacitus; and assuredly the three, Eleazar, Simon Bargioras and John of Giscala did as much as the Roman Commanders to make defeat certain. Still the religious fanaticism of the Jews held out with almost incredible ferocity until Titus arrived in the spring of A.D. 70 and forced the siege of Jerusalem. There is no need to recount its horrors nor the stubbornness with which its defence was conducted, until famine and bloodshed had done their work. At last the Temple was taken and the Jewish leaders fled. Titus had given the strictest orders that the Temple was not to be harmed, but the will of Jehovah was otherwise; and a drunken soldier flinging a lighted torch within, set it on fire. It was burned to the ground; not one stone was left upon another and the prophecy of the Lord was fulfilled. Not only did a savage slaughter mark the fall of Jerusalem, but so thorough was its destruction, that Josephus says, no one would credit its ever having been inhabited. Titus celebrated a famous triumph in which Vespasian, Domitian and himself took part. The seven-branched candlestick, the golden table of shewbread, the silver trumpets and the Tables of the Law were carried in the triumph, while Simon Bargioras was dragged in its train to be executed afterwards. The famous Arch of Titus was set up, adorned with the sacred furniture.

It was the signal glory of the Flavian line; but it is significant that none of the Emperors adopted *Judaicus* or a similar title, obviously out of their contempt for the Jewish nation. On the other hand they boasted their victory in numerous coins of every metal and module.

The coins fall generally into two classes; those which were struck in the Holy Land, of rough provincial work, with legends usually in Greek; and those struck at Rome, of course with Latin legends. It is fairly safe to say that every coin of Vespasian or Titus which presents a type of any victorious or triumphal character, refers to the Jewish war. Only those which are distinctive are, however, mentioned here. Before describing them in detail, it will be useful to mention two very interesting countermarked coins, which were published by De Sauley.

Obverse.

53. Type and legend effaced; possibly **AES** to be read.

Reverse.

Type and legend effaced: in middle of field, square countermark, in which pig and dolphin with **L.X.F.** Below, second countermark with galley.

Æ. 11/12.

54. Laureate head of Augustus to right : on cheek, square countermark with ΞX . Type and legend effaced except C for S.C., as on coins of Antioch.
Æ. 10/12.

Both these coins came from Jerusalem. The initials L.X.F. stand for Legio decima Fretensis. Titus had with him the Fifteenth Legion. When he left Judaea he sent it away to Pannonia and installed the Tenth Legion as garrison. The coins remain as a remarkable fulfilment of the old prophecy. The standard of the Tenth Legion, which was set up upon the ruins of Jerusalem, was the sow. Here was indeed “ the abomination of desolation ” in the Holy Place. The student of history can find few undesigned coincidences more strange than our coins supply in the fall of Jerusalem and the outworking of the will of Jehovah.

VESPASIAN. (A.D. 69-79.)

Two coins of Vespasian were apparently struck in Palestine.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
55. Radiate head of Vespasian to right : border of dots. Æ. 9/12. L. 64.	Victory to left, holding crown and palm. L. 71.
56. Laureate head of Vespasian to right : border of dots. Æ. 10/12. L. 60.	Victory writing on shield : border of dots. L. 61.

These coins were not, of course, struck at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed; and the claims of Nicopolis and Caesarea for all such coins are advocated ardently by leading numismatists.

Abundant coins were struck at Rome to commemorate the conquest of Judaea.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Gold and silver.*

Obverse.	Reverse.
57. Laureate head of Vespasian	Judaea seated on ground to

* The gold coin is an *aureus*; the silver, a *denarius*; the bronze, *sestertius* and *dupondius*; no weights are given, as the coins are the well known and normal weights.

sian : border of dots.

L. 64.

58. As last.

59. As last.

60. As last.

61. As last.

62. As last but L. 70.

right, at foot of trophy : border of dots.

L. IVDAEA. PL. III. 20.

Judaea seated on ground to right, with hands bound behind her back, at foot of palm tree.

L. IVDAEA.

Judaea standing to left, with bound hands, before palm tree : border of dots.

L. IVDAEA.

Palm tree : emperor standing with spear and parazonium : left foot on helmet, left of tree : Judaea seated left on right of tree : border of dots. PL. III. 21.

No. L.

Trophy : border of dots.

L. 74.

Victory to left erecting trophy : border of dots : beneath, Judaea seated : border of dots.

L. 75.

Note. All the above occur both in gold and silver.

Bronze. Æ. Size 1 5/12 inch.

Obverse.

63. Laureated head of Vespasian to right : border of dots. (a)

L. 64-69 inclusive, with variations and different numerals for indicating the times the Emperor held an office.

64. As last. (b)

65. As last. (c)

Reverse.

Palm tree : border of dots. Jewess sits weeping on right of tree : on left

(a) Jew standing with hands bound behind him, surrounded by different arms or, PL. IV. 1.

(b) Emperor standing left of tree with spear and parazonium, foot on helmet : or, PL. IV. 3.

(c) Jewess seated left : Jew standing right of tree.

L. 72 with S. C.

66. As last.

Winged Victory standing left :
foot on helmet : writes **S P. Q. R.**
or **OB. CIV. SER** on shield fixed
to tree : Judaea to right, seated.

L. 73 with **S. C** or **71**.

Pl. IV. 2.

67. As last.

Emperor standing with foot
on prow of ship, holding spear
and Victory : at his foot Jew
kneeling : Jewess running in
supplication : behind, palm :
border of dots.

L. S. C.

68. Head of Emperor, to left,
laureated : border of dots.

Palm tree : Jewess seated left :
Jew standing right : border of
dots.

L. 64-69 inclusive.

L. 72.

Note. The legends are abbreviated differently and on the ~~R~~ differently disposed
either around edge, in field or in exergue.

Æ. II. Size one inch.

69. Laureate head of Vespasian
right or left : border of dots:

Palm tree : Jewess seated right
or left : trophy of arms left or
right : border of dots.

L. 64 and some of rest to **69**.

L. 72 with **S. C.**

Pl. IV. 7

70. As last.

Victory to left erecting trophy:
border of dots.

L. 71 in field with **S. C.**

71. As last.

Victory to right on prow :
border of dots.

L. 71 or **L. 77** in full with
S. C.

Pl. IV. 6.

TITUS (A. D. 79-81).

Coins of Titus¹ were, like his father's, struck both in Palestine and
at Rome; to take the former first.

1. Cf. **Pl. IV. 10.**

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
72. Laureate head of Titus to right : border of dots.	Victory standing to right : left foot on helmet : writes IMP. T. CAES. on shield nailed to palm tree : border of dots.
Æ. 9/12. L. 78 (part).	L. 73.
73. Laureate head of Titus to right : border of dots.	Trophy with crouching Jew, left : shield to right, at foot : border of dots.
Æ. II 11/12. L. 62 (part).	L. 63. PL. IV. 4.
74. As last.	Victory standing to right, foot on helmet, writing on shield fixed to palm-tree : border of dots.
Æ. II 9, 12.	L. 63.
75. As last.	Palm-tree, at foot of which to left, a crouching captive (?) and to right, a shield : border of dots.
Æ. II 9/12.	L. ...Α (?) ΕΠΙ Μ. ΞΑΛΟΥ-ΓΔΗΝ (?) <i>vid.</i> Madden, p. 218.

The coins struck by Titus at Rome, having reference to the capture of Judaea occur in gold, silver and bronze ; and generally present the same types as Vespasian's, with the exception that the legend on the obverse is naturally **L. 78** or some essential part of it ; and the reverses appear occasionally without any legend at all. It is therefore only useful to set out here different types.

Two interesting denarii are given by Madden.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.	Reverse.
76. Laureate head of Titus to right : border of dots.	Jew kneeling, presenting a standard : border of dots.
Æ. 8/12. L. 78 (part).	L. 67 with numeral V.

77. As last. Jew kneeling, holding trophy :
border of dots.

Æ. 8/12.

L. 78 (part).

L. 65 with numeral VII and
67 with numeral VI.

The remainder are bronze as follows : —

*78. Laureate head to right : Titus standing, his right foot
border of dots. on prow of a vessel, holding
Victory (?) and spear : at his feet
two Jews in supplication : to the
left a palm : border of dots.

Æ. I. 1. 5/12.

L. 78 (part).

L. S.C only.

79. As last.

Palm-tree : Jewess seated at
right : on left pile of arms :
border of dots.

Æ. II. one inch.

L. 78 (part).

L. 80.

80. Laureate head of Titus to Jewess left of Palm-tree, pile
right : border of dots. of arms right : border of dots.

Æ. III. 8/12.

L. 78 (part).

L. 72 (part) with S.C.

DOMITIAN (A.D. 81-96).

One or two coins of provincial fabric of this Emperor can be ascribed to Palestine not only because their *provenance* has usually been Jerusalem, but because their types bear obvious reference to the victory of the Flavian Emperors over the Jews. The chief types are worthy of record.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Obverse.

Reverse.

81. Laureate head of Domitian
to right : border of dots.

Trophy of arms : border of
dots.

Æ. 10/12.

L. 81 (part).

L. 82.

* *Vid.* Madden. p. 223.

82. Laureate head of Domitian
to left : border of dots.

Pallas with helmet, shield and
javelin in left hand, stands to left,
with right hand on trophy of
arms : at her feet sometimes an
owl : sometimes behind goddess
a second trophy : border of dots.

Æ. 11/12.

L. 81 (part).

Pl. IV. 8.

No. L.

Obverse.

Reverse.

83. Laureate head of Domitian
to right : border of dots.

Jewess seated on ground, and
Roman soldier standing near a
trophy : border of dots.

Æ. I. 1. 5/12.

L. 81.

L. 72 with S.C.

84. Radiate head of Domitian
to right : border of dots.

Palm tree : border of dots.

Æ. II. 11/12.

L. 81 (part).

Pl. IV. 9.

L. 81 (remainder).

Besides these coins described in the text, there are many¹, as has been said, bearing triumphal types of various sorts on the reverse, and both from type and date they may be considered to commemorate the conquest of Judaea ; which, it is worth repeating, was not only the chief fruit of victory for the Flavians, but one of which they were inordinately proud. Any student can pick these out for himself. On the other hand a particular type occurs with great frequency upon the coins of these three Emperors. I am indebted to a suggestion from Mr. Leopold Messenger for thinking that it has reference to the Conquest of Judaea. The type is that of the Capricorn. That is sufficiently familiar upon the coins of Augustus, who was enthusiastic enough an astrologer to know that he was born under this sign and to adopt it, in consequence, as a coin type.

Comparatively rare throughout the Imperial series, it is commonly to be found upon the coins of these three Emperors, and may therefore be presumed to have some special reference. It is surely more than a coincidence, that astrologers have always held that Capricorn is the sign which governs the Hebrew race ; and it is not fanciful to account for the frequency of the type upon the coins of these Flavian Emperors as a special reference to their achievements against the Holy People. With them Jerusalem was in ruins and Judaea a Roman dependency ; but the national spirit of the Hebrew

1. Pl. III. 22. 23. 24.

race was not yet broken, and after some troublesome years, blazed once more into revolt, the last effort of the Nation *scattered and peeled*.

Rome's task was unhappily not finished with the destruction of Jerusalem and the gorgeous triumph which Titus celebrated at Rome. The sacred vessels of the Temple adorned that Triumph; crowds of Jewish captives followed in its train; the leader of the Revolt, Simon Ben Gioras, was dragged along by a rope round his neck amid many an insult, to be put to death, as the custom was, before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Titus himself, as Josephus says, went through Judaea settling the country, but it is difficult to find out exactly what did happen to that doomed Holy Land and Holy People. Josephus sums up the Roman dealing in singularly moderate terms:—

“About this time it was that Caesar gave order that all Judaea should be exposed for sale; for he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs. He also laid upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmae every year into the Capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time¹”.

This tribute, which was naturally particularly obnoxious to the Jews, was enforced by Domitian with extreme rigour; and the instinctive Jewish grievance was increased by the indecent and insulting methods adopted for its collection.

It is indeed true that the Nation was scattered to the four winds and its Sanctuary desolate, but its race spirit was not broken and its power in the world was greater than ever, and so it has remained until this day.

Religion held the Jews together, when they had no “local habitation”; the reality of their monotheism contained a special attraction for a world of men and women, sick and cynical of a rotten paganism and a philosophy of despair; thrift and ability made them masters of finance, and they clutched a money-loving society in the hollow of their hand.

Seneca sums up the position, “To such a degree does the habit of this most accursed race obtain, that it is received now-a-days in every country; the conquered actually give laws to their conquerors”². The Jews had always been able to acquire special privileges. In the time of Nerva they obtained some alleviation of their wrongs.

It is remarkable that many coins of Domitian found in Samaria

1. Josephus, Wars of Jews, Book VII. VI. 6.

2. SENECA. Frag. S. Augustine “de Civ. Dei” VI. 11.

and Judaea are countermarked with a head of Nerva or Trajan, both of whom appear to have been regarded by the Jews as benefactors. One notable coin of the former Emperor exists, which is numismatic evidence that, at least if the tax was not remitted, its collection was freed from some of the insulting proceedings which added to its indignity.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
85. Laureate head of Nerva to right: border of dots.		Palm tree: on either side S. C.: border of dots.	
L. 83.	Æ. 1.4/12.	L. 84.	Wt. 452 grs.

Pl. IV. 11

But the hatred of the Jews for their conquerors was deeper-seated. Insurrections were frequent on all sides. Bands of Sicarii, as Josephus calls them, fomented sedition; and in particular the Christians, who refused to join in the insurrections, were cruelly treated. Revolts broke out in Cyprus and Cyrene, where savage massacres were caused by the insurgent Jews. Their example was followed in Mesopotamia and Alexandria; all of which places were great centres of Jewish population. The Roman arms suffered several defeats at the hands of the rebels, before these risings were finally put down; and something like quiet was restored, when Trajan in A.D. 117 made Lusius Quietus, who had pacified Mesopotamia, governor of Judaea. Soon after, Trajan died and Hadrian raised the expectation of the Jews. He certainly made a tour in Judaea and curious coins exist to commemorate the welcome he received to order.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
86. Bare head of Hadrian to right: border of dots.		Judaea advances to Hadrian with patera in hand: accompanied by children, holding palms and leading bull for sacrifice: border of dots.	
L. 85.	Æ. 1.4/12.	L. 86.	Wt. 452 grs.

Pl. IV. 12.

87. Similar.		Similar to last: but three children.	
L. 85.	Æ. 1.4/12.	L. 87.	Wt. 452 grs.

CHAPTER V



Jerusalem coin of the first year.

Whatever Hadrian's promises were, they were not destined to be fulfilled. His project of rebuilding Jerusalem as Aelia, with a Temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and direct acts of provocation, such as the forbidding of the Sabbath observance and the rite of circumcision stirred the Jews to their final fury.

A leader appeared in the person of one Simon Bar-cochba (son of a star) who was hailed by the Rabbi Akiba, a man of the highest learning and reputation, as the promised Messiah. Akiba and Eleasar of Modein, another Rabbi, the uncle of Bar-Cochba, were the only two doctors to back him. The Revolt, as appears from the coins, was led at first in conjunction by Simon Bar Cochba, who assumed the title of Nasi or prince, probably meaning the secular leader, and Eleasar the priest. It is tempting to suppose that the Eleasar of the coins is Eleasar of Modein, though there is no evidence that he was a priest. It is almost more than a coincidence that the name of Eleasar does not occur on the coins after the first year of the revolt; and it is known that Barcochba soon suspected him of treachery and kicked him to death, thus himself becoming the sole leader of the Revolt.

The Revolt began in A.D. 132 and lasted till 135. At least 200000 flocked to Simon's standard and were quickly in possession of many strongholds and villages, and probably even of Jerusalem itself. Julius Severus was sent from Britain to quell the revolt. From A.D. 134 for nearly two years it took the highest skill of the Roman general and the strictest discipline of the Roman soldiers to overcome the fanatic followers of Simon. They were harried from one stronghold to another, until at last they were enclosed in the fortress of Bethar, where they were forced to surrender and exterminated. Bar-Cochba was killed and remains to posterity Bar Koziba — the despised 'Son of a lie' from a callous play upon his name. A terrible slaughter followed and the Romans took the severest¹

1. Vide, *Madd.*, p. 233.

revenge upon the learned Jews," so that many of them died under cruel torments, and among them Akiba, who, while torn in pieces with red-hot pincers, continued to cry "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God; the Lord is God alone".

The Revolt is rich in coins; indeed it may safely be said, that it is the most interesting period of all Jewish history from the numismatic point of view; and fortunately from the circumstance of striking it is perfectly easy to attribute the coins. At the beginning of the Revolt Jerusalem no longer existed; the vast treasure of the Temple and the vaster hordes of private Jews had fallen a prey to the conquering Roman in the destruction of Jerusalem; and Josephus especially refers to the amount of money and jewels which were discovered in the ruins of the Holy City.

At the same time the insurgents were too patriotic or fanatic, if you will, to be content to use the moneys of their enemies, and struck coins with their own dies. For the blanks they used the silver tetradrachms of Antioch or the ordinary denarii of Rome or those of Cappadocia and such like; while the copper coins were fabricated in the same way. Often enough the striking is done so hurriedly that considerable portions of the type and legends of the original remain beneath the Jewish over-strike. Thus, coins plainly shew the Emperors from Vespasian to Trajan; and it is safe to assert that coins which shew no traces of overstriking are only particularly well struck. There is a sort of savage satisfaction in this effacement of the hated image and superscription of Caesar.

One peculiar mark of the fabric is to be found in the carefully hammered edge.

The types are numerous and interesting and bear reference either to the religion of the Jews or to the fertility of their land.

An attempt is here made to date the series, but it is confessedly only an attempt; and more data are required before certainty can be attained.

ATtribution OF COINS.

Shekels or overstruck tetradrachms.

Obverse.

88. Four pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold for the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle. Within, the Ark and Mercy Seat, symbolically represented. Above, star: border of dots.

R. 1 inch.

Reverse.

Lulab or bundle of fruits (right), ethrog or citron (left): border of dots.

Wt. 216.3 grs.

There are four different legends as follows : —

a)	Obverse.	L. 27	L. 28.	Reverse.	
b)	—	L. 27.	L. 29.	—	Pl. V. 10.
c)	—	L. 26.	L. 29.	—	Pl. V. 6.
d)	—	L. 26.	L. 30.	—	Pl. VI. d. Pl. VII. 1

89. Similar; but instead of star, wavy line above pillars, a symbolical representation of pillar of fire.

L. 26.

Similar.

L. 30. Wt. 215.6 grs.

Pl. VI. 14.

For a full discussion of the type of these interesting tetradrachms, see *Num. Chron.*, fourth series, vol. XI, pp. 205 seq. A reference to Exod. XXVI, 31, 32, will explain the obverse type, while in the one case the star is naturally an allusion to Simon's surname "Son of a Star"; and in the other the wavy line is probably the pillar of fire. On the reverse the lulab and the ethrog were borne respectively in the right and left hands of the faithful during the Feast of Tabernacles. These tetradrachms, like all the coins of the Second revolt, are overstruck upon Roman or Greek imperial coins, and in many cases the workmanship is so careless and hurried that it is quite easy to identify the defaced coin which has served for the blank. One, for example, in my own collection, is overstruck upon a tetradrachm of Vespasian, of Antioch, and shews quite plainly the eagle, the palm and the date of the reverse. The reason for such overstriking is quite clear. After the destruction of Jerusalem, which terminated the First Revolt, the vast temple treasures were of course seized by the Romans, and the insurgents of the second Revolt had no ingots of their own to fall back upon. But it was a poor satisfaction to stamp patriotic Hebrew devices and legends upon the image and superscription of Caesar, when he was in fact ruthlessly stamping out the Holy Nation.

As will be seen later there is a large number of denarii overstruck; and since some of them bear the name Eleasar, it would seem as if they were the first coins to be issued by the rebels. Reckoning that the tetradrachm is equivalent to the shekel and, consequently, the denarius to the quarter shekel, it is remarkable that the half shekel, which is the most obviously necessary denomination, is not the commonest of all. Perhaps it will appear one day; but its absence or extreme rarity is due to the rarity of the didrachm, upon which it might be struck; and numerous denarii find a natural reason for their comparative prevalence in the fact that two denarii would equal the half shekel of the sacred tribute.

The dating and sequence of the series must at present remain conjectural. The most satisfactory arrangement would make the coins of the first year A.D. 132-133; the second year A.D. 133-134; the undated coins A.D. 134 to the end of the Revolt; and so probably the undated tetradrachms with the wavy line instead of the star, the latest of all.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Quarter shekels or overstruck denarii.

The special interest of these coins lies in the fact that some of them are struck in the name of Eleasar.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
90. Jug : in field to right, palm branch : border of dots.		Bunch of grapes : border of dots.	
L. 24.	℞. 9/12.	L. 28.	Wt. : 57 grs.

A singularly interesting coin combines the names both of Eleasar and Simon, and therefore perhaps may be regarded, although it is not dated, as being one of the very earliest issued during the Revolt.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
91. Jug : in field, right, palm branch : border of dots.		Wreath, within which L. : border of dots.	
L. 24.	℞. 9/12.	L. 26. (part).	Wt. : 57 grs. Pl. V. 7.

Two mule coins, which are in the British Museum Cabinet, deserve mention. If they are not accidents, which is most likely, they could point to the fact, that partisanship was still the curse of the Jewish cause, and that Simon was by no means easy in his assumption of leadership. Undated tetradrachms with a wavy line instead of a star seem to bear witness to a like idea.

The coins are as follows : —

Obverse.		Reverse.	
92. Bunch of grapes : border of dots.		Palm branch : border of dots.	
L. 28.	℞. 9/12.	L. 29.	Wt. : 57 grs. Pl. VI. 7.
93. Bunch of grapes : border of dots.		Lyre : border of dots.	
L. 28.	℞. 9/12.	L. 29.	Wt. : 57 grs.

The usual types are : —

94. a) Palm branch. Wreath, within which L :
 Pl. VI. 2. border of dots.
 b) Jug.
 c) Jug and palm branch
 (right). Pl. VI. 4.
 d) Two trumpets.
 Pl. VI. 3.
 In each case border of dots.
 L. either 29 or 30. \mathcal{R} . 9/12. L. 26 or part. Wt. : 57 grs.
95. a) Palm branch. Bunch of grapes : border of
 Pl. VI. 8. dots.
 b) Jug and palm branch
 (right). Pl. VI. 6.
 c) Jug alone.
 d) Lyre. Pl. VI. 5.
 e) Two trumpets.
 In each case border of dots.
 L. either 29 or 30. \mathcal{R} . 9/12. L. 26 or part. Wt. : 56 grs.

Note. At present no specimen of the quarter shekel with two trumpets and bunch of grapes, is known of the second year. Some of the others, e.g. : Two trumpets and wreath, are excessively rare. In many cases the legends are abbreviated and in the case of the trumpet coins, sometimes finished, between the trumpets in the field of the coin.

The Bronze coins of the Revolt are equally interesting. They do not, it is true, present quite so many types as the silver, which at least is significant of the greater regard in which the right to strike silver was held, and therefore increases the probability that it was the right of coining silver and not merely copper, which Antiochus VII conceded to Simon Maccabaeus. At the same time, though the types are necessarily trivial, some very fine coins are extant and suggest a considerable care in their design and workmanship, which is specially noticeable in the height of the Revolt.

Like the silver coins they bear traces of overstriking and no doubt Roman imperial and colonial copper were freely requisitioned in their fabrication.

One type belongs to Eleasar, and, as is to be expected, in the first year of the Revolt, when money was required in a hurry, it presents a frequent blundering. This also is true of the earliest issue of Barcochab himself.

The weights of what are apparently similar denominations vary to an extraordinary degree, and it would be a task of some interest to determine what coins really served for the blanks of all the issues.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Eleasar.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
95.	Palm tree : border of dots.	Bunch of grapes : border of dots.	
L. 24.	Æ. 9/12.	L. 28. or 30 ¹ .	Wt. 98 grs.
			Pl. V. 1.

The inscription on the obverse is usually retrograde and frequently blundered, although the coin is very rare. The remaining coins, whether they read Simon or Jerusalem must be given to Barcochab, though it may be that the coins of the first year with the legend "Jerusalem" were a joint issue of Simon and Eleasar, either the very first of all, before the leaders dared to assert their own personalities, or, in the case of the undated coins, a desperate appeal of Barcochab to the patriotic sentiments of the Jews, when he realised his failing cause; and thus the "Jerusalem" copper, like the tetradrachms with the wavy line above the pillars, would be the final effort of the Holy Nation — sad memento of a Jerusalem, which existed only in name and in the undying memories of hearts which were ready to break, for a glory which had fled. As we handle them, we can but utter the "Ichabod" which must have been sobbed of old from many a Jewish breast.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS.

Simon.

Obverse.		Reverse.	
97 ² .	Laurel wreath adorned with jewelled clasp : border of dots.	Two handled vase : border of dots.	
Æ. 1 3/12.			

There are 4 different legends known of this coin — those on which the word "Jerusalem" appears being infinitely the rarest. The weights of known specimens vary considerably and while they

1. Two interesting specimens of Eleasar's coins with the legend on the Reverse יְהוּדָה וִירֹשָׁלַיִם, not retrograde, have lately come into my possession from Jerusalem. They are hitherto unpublished. They weigh respectively 62 1/2 and 35 1/2 grains. Apparently both are from the same Reverse die : but from different Obverse dies. Are they merely accidental and careless or are they a definite issue? If the latter, then possibly all the undated coins ought to come at the beginning of the series. The latter is figured Pl. V. 2.

2. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1912. Part II. Fourth series, No. 46, p. 223 seq.

usually average the weight of the Roman sestertius that is commonly called First Brass, Madden gives 568 grs. as the weight of one specimen and I have lately handled another which actually weighs 724 grs. The legends are as follows:—

Legends.

a)	Obverse.	L. 27.	Reverse.	L. 28.	Head of chapter V.
b)	—	L. 27.	—	L. 29.	Pl. V. 12.
c)	—	L. 25.	—	L. 28.	Pl. V. 3.
d)	—	L. 26.	—	L. 29.	Pl. V. 11.

Obverse.

98. Palm tree : border of dots.
Æ. 11/12.

Reverse.

Vine leaf : border of dots.
Wt. 170 grs.

Three varieties of legend appear viz :

a)	Obverse.	L. 25.	Reverse.	L. 28.	Pl. V. 4.
b)	—	L. 26.	—	L. 29.	Pl. V. 9.
c)	—	L. 26.	—	L. 30.	Pl. VI. 12. 13. Pl. VII. 3. 4.

Note. A reading פזזז (פזזז) instead of פזזז (פזזז) occurs. This may be either an engraver's error or perhaps means "leader", equivalent to Nasi (cf. Ezek. XXXIX, 2) *vide* Madden, p. 204. Simon's name on the obverse is curiously abbreviated and an unusual form of the letter Vau is found in פז.

Obverse.

99. Palm branch within wreath, joined by jewelled clasp : border of dots.
Æ. From 11/12 to 8/12.

Reverse.

Lyre, with six, five, four or three strings : border of dots.

Legends.

Wt. from 134 grs. to 68 grs.

a)	Obverse.	L. 25.	Reverse.	L. 28.	Pl. V. 5. Pl. VII. 2.
b)	—	L. 30.	—	L. 29.	Pl. V. 8.
c)	—	L. 30.	—	L. 26.	Pl. VI. 9.

This type appears to include one or two denominations, unless it is merely carelessly fabricated in the exigencies of the siege. The legends on (b) are most curious and resemble the mules to be found among the overstruck denarii. Probably more varieties will be found.

1. I can only suggest that a large brass of Epiphanes IV (Seleucid) or of one of the Ptolemies was used. My suggestion is also confirmed by the coin figured from my collection, which is overstruck upon a Ptolemaic copper. I have another on a copper of Gaza. Pl. VII. 3.

2. I have recently acquired a quarter shekel of the second year : Obv. Jug and Palm. Rev. Grapes, with the same form of Vau.

Simon Barcochab seems to have issued a small bronze coin similar to No. 96, which belongs to Eleasar, though it is usually lighter. This may of course be accidental, but it is probable that the longer the Revolt lasted the less careful were the moneyers in the choice of coins from which to manufacture flans.

The type is as follows :

Obverse.	Reverse.
100. Palm tree : border of dots.	Bunch of grapes : border of dots.
Æ. 9/12.	Wt. 98 grs.

Three variations of legend appear.

a) Obverse. L. 27.	Reverse. L. 29.	
b) — L. 27.	— L. 30.	Pl. VI. 11.
c) — L. 26.	— L. 30.	Pl. VI. 10.

It is rather remarkable that no coin of Simon's either of the first or second year of this type is extant ; but it suggests the reflection that there are still a few gaps left in the series ; and some happy surprises for lucky students and collectors.

With these coins the moneys of the Jews are really finished. They are the last pathetic witness of the Nation's effort as a Nation with a Fatherland to call its own and the Holy Place, where Jehovah had chosen to set His name and His Honour.

There still remains much that is interesting both in ancient and in mediaeval times, centring around the Holy City ; for it is still according to its Arabic Title *El-Kuds*, the Holy City ; and all along the ages there are coins to commemorate its changing fortunes and to prove it at least " the desire of many nations ".

Note. The large Æ, no 97 c. has a very curious form of vau ✕ which I had never seen on any other coin, until lately Messrs. Spink showed me one of no 98 b. with the same form. This is a very curious coin : it is well hammered up and weighs 290 grs. unusually heavy. On the other hand the vineleaf is unusually small and delicate and suggests it comes from the same hand as the former coin.

CHAPTER VI.

The Roman Conqueror of Barcochab was not slow to leave his mark on the new city, which he had been contemplating, before its realisation roused the Jews to their last disastrous fury.

Madden well sums up the controversy, which has raged round the date of the actual foundation as follows: "It seems most probable (1) that a colony was sent to Jerusalem in A.D. 131 by order of Hadrian, and the city commenced; (2) that during the revolt the city was destroyed; and (3) that it was not rebuilt and completed till A.D. 136, in which year the colonial coins were first struck".

To this new city Hadrian gave the name of Aelia Capitolina. The former title was derived from his own family name "Aelius" and the latter was in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom he erected a Temple, it is said, actually upon the site of the old Temple of Herod. Jews were forbidden under pain of death to enter the colony, but Christians were allowed to live side by side with pagans.

The Colonial coinage is known to last from Hadrian, A.D. 136 to Valerian A.D. 255-260, who was in the latter year defeated and taken prisoner by the Persian king, Sapor.

Most of the extant coins are in an extremely poor condition, probably pointing to the fact that they have still remained in circulation up to the present day.

As the coins shew, the Colony received the further title of Commodiana from the time of the Emperor Commodus, A.D. 180-192, probably to gratify the vanity of this maniac Caesar, who bestowed the like title on all his possessions. At all events it retained the title until the end of the series. A similar title, Aurelia, occurs also upon the coins of Commodus and Elagabalus.

Most of the types are obvious but some are interesting. Among them are Jupiter in a temple; Serapis, shewing the influence of Egyptian thought upon Rome; the Wolf and Twins, a national symbol; Fortune in various forms; Victory, even Bacchus and, probably, Astarte. Hadrian is said to have raised a Temple to Astarte-Venus. Two, however, deserve special mention. Of these the former, the usual type of Colon ploughing the foundations of the new city, is shortly to be described at length, as being the first coin of Aelia Capitolina issued, and a second, probably also the next type struck, represents on the reverse the three deities Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. To Christian students the interest of this latter coin lies in the fact that this triad of deities is a travesty of the Blessed

Trinity, Which was first proclaimed at Jerusalem. Only the sin of Israel, with the blood of its Christ and ours upon its head, could have made such a burlesque of eternal truth possible.

The description of the first coin is as follows :

Obverse.	Reverse.
101. Laureate bust of Emperor to right with paludamentum : border of dots.	Colon ploughing with two oxen to right : behind them a standard : border of dots.
IMP·CAES·TRAIANO·HADRI- ANO.	COL·AEL·KAPIT·COND.
Æ. 10/12.	Wt. 152 grs. Pl. VII. 5.

Under the Byzantine Emperors, as is natural, Jerusalem attained a high prosperity ; while previous to this the zeal of the Empress Helena, who discovered the true Cross, raised Jerusalem higher than ever in the estimation of Christendom. The golden age of the Holy City seemed to have returned for an all too brief space, before it was lost to Jew and Christian alike.

The Emperor Julian (A.D. 362) encouraged an abortive attempt of the Jews to rebuild the Temple, which was frustrated by a terrible earthquake and fire.

Jerusalem became the centre of devout pilgrimages for many years ; and one of the clearest and most famous accounts of early Christian worship is to be found in the writings of S. Silvia, about 384 A.D. With the Council of Chalcedon 451-453 A.D. Jerusalem was constituted an independent Patriarchate and played a prominent part in doctrinal controversies. Churches, monasteries and shrines were built in profusion. The Empress Eudocia, after her exile from Constantinople, spent the last sixteen years of her life in Jerusalem and built upon a generous and munificent scale ; the Emperor Justinian did so in like manner, and founded the famous Church in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

This period of calm and prosperity — for Jerusalem had become not only the centre of Christian devotion, but a rich market for the traders of the Mediterranean, — was savagely broken in upon by the Invasion of the Persians under Chosroes II in 614 A.D., when the City was taken, clergy and monks massacred, and Churches, schools, almshouses and monasteries ruthlessly burned. Treasures and relics were carried off and it was not until fourteen years after, that the Roman arms were victorious and in A.D. 628 the Emperor Heraclius re-entered the Holy City, bearing with him in token of his success, the Wood of the True Cross — which Chosroes had taken in his assault.

The golden age of the Holy City was past; and its respite of peace but short. In A.D. 637 after a few months' siege, the Arabs or Saracens, as we know them, captured Jerusalem, and began the Moslem occupation, which with very few interruptions has lasted until to-day.

There remain some very interesting coins of this Mahommedan success, fashioned after the types of the current Byzantine pieces, except that the crescent takes the place of the Cross. Various mints are represented: Tiberias, Damascus and Baalbek, or Heliopolis, are familiar names.

ATTRIBUTION OF COINS

Obverse.	Reverse.
103 ¹ . L. within border of dots.	Five-branched candlestick.

محمد رسول الله

i.e. : *Mohammed is the Apostle of God.*

Æ. 6/12.

Wt. 62 grs.

Probably this was struck by the Kaliph Omar himself.

Two others may be described.

Obverse.	Reverse.
104. Figure of Kaliph, standing facing, with sword: border of dots.	Crescent over letter M : below: border of dots.

L as last.

L (right) فلسطين i : e : Palestine : (left) ايليا i : e : Aelia.

Æ. 9, 12.

Wt. 140 grs. PL. VII. 7.

Obverse.	Reverse.
105 ² . L within a circle in three lines : border of dots.	In three lines L : border of dots.

لا اله الا الله وحده i : e :

There is no deity but God alone.

محمد رسول الله

i : e : *Mohammed is the apostle of God.* Margin.

بسم الله صرب هذا الفلوس بالاردن

i : e : *In the name of God, this fells was struck in al-Ardun (or Jordan).*

Æ.

1. For this and the following coin, *vide*, Madden, p. 276-277.

2. *Nun. Chron.* Third series, vol. III, p. 206. Rogers Bey collection.

A similar coin was struck at Tiberias. These belong to the Kaliph'Abd-al-Malik ibn Marwân. A.D. 684-705.

From this point the story must hurry on. In the time of Charlemagne (771-814) an embassy was sent to distribute alms in the Holy City and the liberal-minded Kaliph, the famous Hârûn er-Rashid replied by sending Charlemagne the keys of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. But such friendly relations did not last for long; and the Moslems themselves fell into a state of anarchy. Jerusalem still remained the goal of the pious and pilgrimages were frequent. The Mussalmans of the eleventh century not only turned these pilgrimages to a source of revenue, by exacting a byzant from every visitor to the Holy Sepulchre, but their ill-treatment of the pilgrims was one of the reasons for the Crusades.

It was no easy task that the Arabs had, to retain the Holy City. The Turcoman hordes were upon them, and the last days of the eleventh century were a time of travail for Jerusalem, which was crowned when, on June 7. 1099, the Crusading Host was marshalled against its walls to win for Christendom from the Infidel, the sacred places where the Redeemer of mankind had lived and died and risen again.

The Crusades were the dream of Peter Gautier, or Peter the Hermit, as he is called, a French officer of Amiens, who became pilgrim and preacher. He obtained from Urban II. the Pope, the commission to arouse Europe to fight for the holy places. Urban convened the Council of Clermont, at which all the ambassadors of the great powers of Europe were present, and the Crusades were determined upon with the sanction of Holy Church. There were eight in all, the last in 1270, when after 21 years' conflict, the Sultan took Acre and the Christians were driven out of Syria. It must be left to others beside the numismatist to moralise upon the Crusades. At least he knows that a common cause against the Infidel procured the peace of Europe; the great nations developed, and the lesson of chivalry, of mercy and compassion — in the establishment of Hospital and Chapelry — has borne a gracious fruit alike in peace and war to-day.

For the numismatist the first interest lies in the fact that many coins remain to bear their witness of this conflict; and for the description of them, as well as for the historical comments, which illuminate them, I am wholly indebted to my friend Mr. L. Forrer.

The first effort of the Crusaders was triumphantly successful. Forty thousand in number they assailed the Holy City. On July 15 1099 it had fallen into their hands after prodigies of valour. It is said that they took a terrible revenge upon the infidel in the slaughter of 70000 Sacarens. Churches were established and for eighty eight years Jerusalem remained in the power of the Christians,

until Saladin retook it for the Moslem in 1187. For more than a hundred years the Crusades ran their course with varying success, until their final defeat.

The first capture of Jerusalem by the Christians was signalled by the foundation of a Kingdom; and on 23 July 1099, Godfrey, Duke of Basse-Lorraine, seigneur of Bouillon, was named King of Jerusalem.

This Kingdom was incorporated into that of Cyprus in 1268 and ceased to exist after the capture of Saint-Jean d'Âcre, 1291.

1099. Godfrey of Bouillon.

1100. Baldwin I.

*1118. Baldwin II of Bourq. **BALDVINVS REX.** Pl. VII. 8.

The coins with this legend are usually ascribed to Baldwin II, Baldwin III, and Baldwin IV.

1131. Fulk of Anjou.

*1144. Baldwin III.

*1162. Amalric I. **AMALRICVS REX.** Pl. VII. 9.

*1173. Baldwin IV. Pl. VII. 10.

1183. Baldwin V.

*1186. Guy of Lusignan. **REX GVIDO.** Pl. VII. 11.

*1192. Henry of Champagne. **COMES HENRICVS.**

1197. Amalric II.

1205. Isabella.

1205. Marie of Montisferrato, alone

1210. — in conjunction with John of Brienne.

*1212. John of Brienne, regent on behalf of his daughter, Yolanda. **IOHANNES REX.**

1225. Yolanda and Frederick II of Germany.

1228. Frederick II, regent for his son, Conrad.

1243. Conrad of Montisferrato, **CVNrad' rex.**


1243-46. Alix of Cyprus, regent in conjunction with her consort, Raoul of Soissons.

1246-68. Henry I, Hugo II, and Hugo III of Cyprus.

1254-68. Conradin.

Type : Cross pattée; the Holy Sepulchre; cross patriarchal; facing head of king.

Among the most interesting coins of the Latin Orient is a small billon coin with **T.V.R.IS.** David's Tower (at Jerusalem)¹; **℞. D. A. V. I. T.** Eight-rayed star. This has been considered as an obsidional coin struck in 1187 on the approach of Saladin's army.

A coin which has not yet been attributed has **MONETA REGIS** cross with **A** and **Ω**; **℞. + REX. IERL**  cross pattée. Schlumber-

* Coins are known only of the rulers whose names are preceded by an asterisk.

1. Cf. **Pl. VII. 12.**

ger describes in his *Suppl.*, p. 4, another interesting piece : **+ SEPVLC HRI : DOMINI**. The large dome of the Holy Sepulchre ; **℞. + DRAGMA ACCONEN(sis)**. A variety with **ACCONSIS**. The word *Dragma* stands for *Denarius*. This coin belongs to the latter years of the twelfth century, and may have been struck in the Crusaders' camp at Acre in 1191, as also the Denier with **MONETA REGIS**.

Of interest is also the curious Pugeoise in copper struck at Acre by Henry of Champagne with the legend **+ PYGES D'ACCON** ; and a Denier of John of Brienne, struck in 1219, during the occupation of Damietta by the Franks : **+ IOHES : REX : cross** ; **℞. + DAMAITA**. Crowned head of king, facing (a variety with **IOHANNES** and **DAMIETA**).

M. Schlumberger ascribes to the kingdom of Jerusalem a series of Deniers with the legend **VERÆ CRVCIS** and on **℞.** a large patriarchal cross.

There is a denier with **CVN..D'** and on **℞.** the Holy Sepulchre, which may be given to Conrad (*Orient latin*, p. 494).

Cf. J. A. Blanchet, *Nouveau Manuel de Numismatique*, 1890, II, 342. — Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, 1878.

The Kings of Cyprus retained the title of King of Jerusalem after the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem, 1291. Henry II of Lusignan¹ (1285-1324) styles himself **REI DE IERUSALEM ET DE CHIPRE**. Amalric I. of Tyre, during the six years of his usurpation (1306-12) used the title of *Cipri gubernator et rector Ierusalem et Cipri regis filius*². Pierre I (1359-69) issued Gros and Demi-gros with the legend *Pierre roi de Gerusalem e de Chipre*³. On a denier of James I (1382-98) Jerusalem is spelt **EROZALAM**.

Charles I of Anjou, on becoming king of Sicily, 1265, took the title of King of Jerusalem and Sicily, and the title was preserved by the Spanish and Bourbon rulers of the Kingdom of the Two-Sicilies until its incorporation into the Kingdom of Italy in 1860.

The House of Savoy, under Victor Amedeus II, king of Sicily (1713-1718) added to their titles that of king of Jerusalem. This title was retained on the coinage until 1861, when the New Kingdom⁴ of Italy was constituted. The princes of this house were titular Kings of Cyprus as representatives of the Lusignan dynasty, Charlotte de Lusignan having been married to Louis de Savoie, and both reigning conjointly (1458-60).

1. **Pl. VII. 13. Pl. VIII. 1.**

2. **Pl. VII. 14.**

3. **Pl. VIII. 2** (Pierre II).

4. **Pl. VIII. 3. 4.**

The Order of the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, which was privileged to strike currency from the conquest of Rhodes under Fulk de Villaret (1307-1323) issued a long series of coins, first in the island of Rhodes, and after the transfer of the Order to Malta¹ under Charles V, in the latter island, with the legend *Magister Ordo Hospitalis Hierusalemensis*.

The monetary unit in the Ottoman empire is the *Turkish Piastre* of 40 *Paras* or 100 *Aspres*. The nominal value of the Piastre is about 2d $\frac{1}{4}$.

The following Table indicates the denominations of the currency in circulation :

METAL	DENOMINATIONS OF THE COINS	SIZE IN MILL	STANDARD	WEIGHT IN GRAINS
Gold	500 Pistres or Turkish £ 5	35	916.66	Pl. VIII .6. 530
	250 Pistres	27.2		265
	100 Pistres or Medjidie	22.5		114
	50 Pistres medjidie	18		57
	25 Pistres medjidie	14.75		29
Silver				Pl. VIII. 7
	20 Pistres	37	830	380
	10 Pistres	27.25		190
	5 Pistres	34		95
	1 Piastre	18.75		37
	1 Piastre	15		19
	$\frac{1}{2}$ Piastre	13.75		9
Copper or Bronze	40 Paras		Pure Copper or Bronze	300
	20 Paras			165
	10 Paras			83
	5 Paras			42
	1 Para			9
Nickel				Pl. VIII. 8.
	40 Paras		Nickel	57
	20 Paras			50
	10 Paras			42
	5 Paras			27
				Pl. VIII 9.

The coins of the reigns of Mahomed II (1808-39), Abdul Medjid (1839-1861), Abdul Aziz (1861-1876) Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) and Mahomed V (1909-) are all still indiscriminately accepted in change throughout Syria, including Palestine.

The Biblical district of Palestine now forms the Matessarifliks of Jerusalem (El Kuds), Lebanon, Acre and Nablus; with a total area

1. Pl. VIII. 3. 4.

of about 11,000 square miles and a present population of about 700,000, of whom 15,000 are Jews, and the remainder principally Mohammedans.

Although strictly our task is here finished, it cannot stop here. Recent events in the near East have suggested that the rule of the Turk rests on no very sure foundation. Zionism again is a living cause. It may be :

— “ The Lord will have mercy on Jacob yet,
And again in his border see Israel set,
When Judah beholds Jerusalem,
The stranger-seed shall be joined to them:
To Jacob’s House shall the Gentiles cleave.
So the Prophet saith and his sons believe. ”

It cannot be that the Holy City, whose name is “ the foundation ” or “ the inheritance of peace ”, shall be always at strife. It must be that one day its peace shall be perfect, the peace of Him, Who is the Prince of Peace; the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and in that we shall see the consummation of all our studies and the fulfilment of our deepest joy.

CHAPTER VII.

If the task is done of examining strictly Jewish coins and those which belong to Jerusalem, there yet remains another, which no student of the series would easily lay aside. It is to try and discover the actual coins to which reference is made in Holy Scripture. From what has been already said, it will be clear that this investigation is narrowed down to those coins, which are mentioned from time to time in the New Testament. Perhaps the disappointment of finding that there is so little in the Old Testament and Apocrypha is in some degree compensated for by the large place which money occupies in the New Testament. A Numismatist has the surest justification for his interest, if indeed he needs any, in the fact that so often our Lord draws a lesson from the common use and existence of money. For Him it is part of human life and human intercourse and therefore it is the concern of God. For the Numismatist his study accordingly acquires an importance and a sanction, which dignify it as nothing else can.

Many a lesson of divine teaching is drawn from the fact of money: for example the parable of the talents or pounds; the woman searching for the lost piece of silver. Many a commendation of its profitable use must have suggested the right use of the true riches — *the children of this generation are wiser than the children of light*; — many a warning of its wrong use — *how hardly shall they that have riches enter the kingdom of heaven*. Many a solemn instruction sprang from its possession — *provide neither gold nor silver in your purses*. Many a happy example of its power, like the full-hearted generosity of the poor widow or the repentant Magdalene.

One miracle at least, the finding of the piece of silver in the fish's mouth; one Apostle, S. Matthew, the publican, whose profession was to raise money, whet the interest of Numismatists.

Twice the divine anger blazed forth and the Lord cleansed the Temple of the money-changers whose greed defiled its sacred precincts.

Even in the Holy Week of Passion, money plays its part and the Lord's enemies are repulsed over their quibble about the tribute money — *Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's* — while the world's Redeemer is sold for *thirty pieces of silver*.

It is only natural that many, beyond the somewhat narrow circle

of numismatists, should want to know as accurately as possible what this money is ; should want to possess it ; should want at least to have it so described as to be able to visualise it for themselves.

Unhappily there is very little trustworthy account of New Testament monies. Wholesale criticism may seem impertinent, but it does remain true that many first-rate Commentaries of the Bible, and Dictionaries of the Bible, are woefully misinformed in their account of New Testament money¹. It may even be rash to attempt an attribution, when so many scholars have already failed.

The one excuse for making the attempt is that it ought to be made, and the reproach of rashness may best be avoided by the frank admission that such an attempt is not more than tentative. The question is hedged round with difficulties, and conclusions ought only to be accepted for what they are worth. Finality is not possible at present and half the charm of numismatic study would vanish if it were.

The following conclusions are therefore put forward with a real sense of humility ; and can only be sustained or refuted, if more scholars will interest themselves in a branch of numismatics, which is intrinsically absorbing and obviously valuable beyond its own proper sphere.

Unfortunately the English Version of the New Testament is singularly misleading ; different Greek words are translated by the same English term : for example two entirely different Greek words are rendered by “ *piece of silver* ”, and two entirely different coins are intended ; or again the expression, “ *a farthing*,” covers at least two different Greek words and probably two different coins. Further, the word rendered “ *a penny* ” invariably means a silver coin ; and accordingly considerable confusion arises to make an already difficult task the more so.

Perhaps as simple a way as any of clearing up this confusion will be to distinguish those passages, which refer to money in a generic way, as gold, silver or brass, including money of account, such as “ *talent* ” or “ *pound* ” ; and those which undoubtedly refer to specific coins.

To take the former in order of metal value.

Gold occurs as

(1) Χρυσός = *aurum*.

S. Matt. II, 11 ; X, 9 ; I Cor. III, 12 ; S. Jas. V, 3 ; Rev. XVIII, 12 ;

1. The article on “ *Money* ”, by the Rev. A.R.S. Kennedy, in Hastings’ “ *Dictionary of the Bible* ”, to which I owe a big debt of gratitude, is an honourable exception.

(2) Χρυσίδον = *aurum*.

Acts III, 6; XX, 33; I S. Pet. I, 18.

Silver occurs as

(1) Ἀργυροεξ = *argentum*.

S. Matt. X, 9; I Cor III, 12; S. Jas. V, 3; Rev. XVIII, 12.

(2) Ἀργυρίον = *pecunia*.

S. Matt. XXV, 18, 27; S. Mark XIV, 11; S. Luke IX, 3; XIX, 15, 23; XXII, 5; Acts III, 6; VII, 16; VIII, 20; XIX, 19; XX, 33; I S. Pet. I, 18.

Copper occurs as Χάλκιδες = *pecunia* and *aes*.

S. Matt. X, 9; S. Mark VI, 8.

In all these cases it is safe to say that no particular coin is intended.

Two other terms should be added.

(1) Χρημα.

= *pecunia* or money possessions.

S. Mark X, 23; S. Luke XII, 4-24.

= *pretium* or price (only found in Acts).

Acts IV, 37; VIII, 18, 20; XXIV, 26.

(2) Κέρμα.

= *aes* or small change.

S. John II, 15.

Besides these there are the two names of monies of account.

(1) Τάλαντον = *talentum* = talent.

S. Matt. XVIII, 24; XXV, 15-28.

(2) Μνᾶ = *mina* = mina.

S. Luke XIX, 13-25.

A *talent* was worth 750 ounces of silver; and a *mina*, derived from the Hebrew *maneh*, was one sixtieth of the talent. The purchasing power of a talent would therefore, in the proportion of to-day, represent several hundred pounds.

When we come to consider definitely named coins in the New Testament, it must be noticed that there is no mention of a gold coin in the New Testament by name. There never was a native Jewish gold coin; and doubtless the only gold coins with which the Jews were familiar in the early days of the Christian era were either staters of Alexander or of the Seleucid kings, some of which had been minted in Phœnician cities, such as Aradus, Tyre and Sidon, with the head of Pallas on the obverse, and a Victory marching to left, with wreath and palm, on the reverse; and the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ or ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, etc.

These must have had a wide circulation in the East long after the death of Alexander the Great. Otherwise the gold coin was the Aureus of the Roman Empire, with the bust of Tiberius¹, Claudius

1. Pl. IX. 2.

or Nero on the obverse, and the emperor's titles; while the reverse shewed an immense variety of types; e. g. Victory, Salus, etc. and an appropriate legend. The size, weight and fineness roughly correspond to the English sovereign, though a slight advantage remains in favour of the classical money.

So far the matter is simple enough.

The silver coins, though more difficult to determine, are fairly certain of attribution.

To begin with the largest.

1. Ἀργύρια = silvers.

This word is used on two occasions and both times in the plural.

a) S. Matt. XXVI, 15 in connection with the bargain made between Judas and the chief priests for the betrayal of our Lord. The Greek runs οἱ δὲ ἔσθησαν πρὸς τριάντα ἀργύρια, and the Authorised Version translates, "*They covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver*", while the Revised more correctly renders the passage "*They weighed unto him thirty pieces of silver,*" because ἔσθησαν corresponds to the Hebrew root, שָׂם. The same word is used in S. Matt. XXVII 3, 5, 6, 9, where Judas' repentance and the chief priests' dilemma are described.

Obviously, comparing these passages with Zech. XI, 12, 13, where again the words "*thirty pieces of silver*" are used, it is clear that large silver coins equal in value to the shekel are intended, and this view is entirely confirmed by a reference to Exod. XXI, 32, where the "*price of blood*" is thirty shekels of silver. Now the Greek coin corresponding to the shekel would be the tetradrachm, or as it is called in another passage, which will be examined below, the stater; for no shekels were current in the time of our Lord.

Absolute certainty of attribution is impossible. The coins would probably be tetradrachms of the Greek cities of Syria, or Greek Imperial staters of Antioch or Caesarea. The probabilities seem to be in favour of the coins of Antioch.

Such a stater would be as follows :

Obverse.

106. Head of Augustus : right :
laureated : bead and reel border.
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕ ΒΑΣΤΟΝ.
(from right downwards).

Reverse.

The Tyche of Antioch, draped and turreted, seated right on rock, holding palm branch in right hand; at her feet right, god (probably Orontes) swimming right; around from left, upwards **ΕΤΟΝΣ ΝΙΚΗΣ** with date **ϠΚ**; in field, monograms **Α** and **Β** with number of consulate IB, or B.C. 6-5.

.R. One inch.

Weight 235 grs.

Pl. IX. 5

b) A similar coin must be covered by the expression $\delta\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\iota\alpha\chi\nu\acute{\alpha}$ in S. Matthew XXVIII, 12, 15, where the money so described is used to bribe the soldiers, who had fled from their watch at the Holy Sepulchre on Easter morning, to keep silence. The translation “large money” would be more accurately “large silvers”, that is, staters and not denarii; and the above coin must be indicated, though it is quite conceivable that tetradrachms of Tyre² with the Head of Melkarth and the Eagle on the Reverse might be mixed with them.

2. $\Sigma\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ and $\Delta\iota\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\omicron\nu$.

It will be convenient to consider these two coins together, because they only occur in one incident, S. Matt. XVII, 24 to end. It is short enough to quote at length and the Authorised Version is preferable to the Revised translation, because the Revisers have spoiled the whole value of the passage by using the word “shekel”, which is quite out of place.

And when they were come to Capernaum they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said, Doth not your master pay tribute?

He saith, Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers?

Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free.

Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee.

This passage is full of interest and value.

They that received tribute money is $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\iota\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\ \lambda\alpha\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ the tribute is $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\iota\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha$; the piece of silver is $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha$. It should be noticed that there are two sorts of tribute, the sacred and the civil. The following extracts from Madden's account well sum up the facts¹.

“The sacred tribute or payment of the “atonement money” was half a shekel (Exod. XXX, 13, 16; XXXVIII, 26) and was originally levied on every male of twenty years old and above, when the Israelites were first numbered. In the reign of Joash the same sum was demanded annually for the repair of the Temple (II Chron. XXIV, 4-14). After the return from the captivity, the annual payment “for the service of the house of God” was *one-third of the shekel*, and was voluntarily contributed (Neh. X. 32).

2. Pl. IX. 4.

1. *Coins of the Jews*, p. 290.

The amount of tribute was again restored to the *half-shekel*, which the Jews, when dispersed throughout the world, continued to pay towards the Temple

The τέλος was a tax collected by the publicans (τέλωνται) on goods at the bridges, gates, harbours etc. It answers to the Latin *vectigal*. The term also occurs in Romans XIII, 7. Various passages in the New Testament shew how odious the collectors of these taxes were to the Jews.

The κῆντος (Lat. census) was a poll-tax paid to the Roman Emperor".

This last, also called φόρος, was the civil tribute paid to the Roman Emperor, probably when Judaea became a Roman Province. Perhaps it consisted of two denarii a head, though this is not certain till the time of Vespasian, who made the payment two drachmae a head. The famous coin of Nerva, which we have already described, has reference to this civil tribute. Both τέλος and κῆντος are used by our Lord in his question to S. Peter.

It is important to note that the tribute in this incident is the sacred tribute. That gives the real point to the incident. Our Lord claims in His words to S. Peter that as God's own child, He is free — a most explicit indication of His Divine Sonship ; for the tribute was recognised as being paid to God ; and God would not therefore expect it of His Son.

Then the name of the tax is τὸ διδραχμῶν and the amount of the tax is τὸ διδραχμῶν, a didrachm, that is equivalent to a half shekel. The amount therefore of the tax for two persons would be four drachms or a tetradrachm, which is the value of the coin actually found in the fish.

It has been noted that the use of the word στατήρα is a proof of the " minute accuracy " of the Evangelist. Didrachms were practically unknown at the time, and the equivalent of two didrachms was called the stater, and is the coin that has just been described — a small fact, but one of considerable importance to those who impugn the first-hand knowledge of the writers of the New Testament.

3. Δραχμή.

This word occurs only in one passage, viz : S. Luke XV, 8, 9, in the parable of the woman sweeping the house for the lost piece of silver, for so it is rendered in the English, *Either what woman having ten pieces of silver (δραχμὰς δέκα) if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house diligently till she find it ?*

Probably the coin is really a denarius, which is to be described next. The Greek drachma and the Roman denarius were roughly¹

1. The Antioch tetradrachm was actually tarified as equal to three Roman denarii.

equivalent in the first century A. D., being in weight about 60 grains. If the woman had the money hoarded up, it might have been a Seleucid, or even an Athenian drachma¹; but if it was current coin, it practically must have been a Roman denarius, which was the common coin in currency in Palestine. In that case, quite characteristically, S. Luke uses a native Greek word for the coin instead of a Grecised Latin form, just as if a modern French writer were to call our halfpenny a *son*. The style of S. Luke, more classical very often than that of the other Evangelists, supports this theory.

If on the other hand a contemporary Greek drachma is really meant, then it is probably to be found in the coins of Caesarea of Cappadocia. A regal series of Cappadocian drachmae exists from B. C. 330 until A. D. 17, when Cappadocia became a Roman Province. The capital city, Caesarea, at the foot of Mount Argæus, was made an Imperial mint for the East, and the coin in this case, to which S. Luke refers, is as follows : —

Obverse.	Reverse.
107. Head of Tiberius right : laureate : border of dots.	Mount Argæus : on summit naked male figure, radiate, standing facing : in right hand globe : in left, sceptre : border of dots.
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣ- ΤΟΣ Æ. 8/12.	ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ Wt. 56 grs. PL. IX. 7.

But all the probability is in favour of its being a denarius.

4. Δηνάριον = denarius = a penny.

This is perhaps the most singularly interesting coin mentioned in the New Testament and its attribution is quite certain. The Romans first coined the denarius about B. C. 268, and it acquired its name from being equal to *ten asses*, the *as* being the original copper coin. It appears to have been the day's pay for a field labourer, as it was also in the Middle Ages.

Although translated a penny, it is a silver coin; and has given its name not only to the mediaeval *denar*, but to the title of account we still use for our pence, and so is to be found in the expression £. s. d. To-day it survives alone in the silver penny which forms part of the Maundy money distributed by the King to poor persons at Westminster Abbey every Maundy Thursday.

The description of the current denarius of the Gospel is as follows : —

1. PL. IX. 6.

Obverse.

108. Laureate head of Tiberius to right : border of dots.

Upwards from bottom, right to left, legend.

TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F
AVGVSTI

Æ. 8/12.

Reverse.

Emperor seated on throne to right : diademed and robed as high priest, holds in right hand sceptre, in left palm branch : border of dots.

PONTIF (right) MAXIM (left)

Wt. 60 grs.

PL. IX. 8.

This is the most frequently mentioned coin in the New Testament and occurs in the following passages :—

S. Matthew XVIII, 28, *The same servant went out, and found one of his fellow servants, which owed him an hundred pence.*

S. Matthew XX, 2, 9, 10, 13, *The parable of the labourers in the vineyard, When he had agreed with his labourers for a penny a day, etc.*

S. Matthew XXII, 19, cf. S. Mark XII, 15, S. Luke XX, 24, *Shew me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny.*

Note. — This was the hated civil tribute (σκληροῦς). On the denarius described the image and superscription of Caesar are quite clear.

S. Mark VI, 37, cf. John VI, 7. In the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand, *Shall we go and buy two hundred pennyworth of bread, and give them to eat?* is the Apostle's suggestion how to solve the difficulty.

S. Mark XIV, 5, cf. S. John XII, 5. Of the value of the alabaster box of spikenard, which the woman brake over the Lord's feet at Bethany, Judas asks, *Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?*

S. Luke VII, 41. The parable-question to Simon. *There was a certain creditor which had two debtors : the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty, etc.*

S. Luke X, 35. In the parable of the good Samaritan, *He took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him ; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.*

Rev. VI, 6. *I heard as it were a voice in the midst of the four living creatures saying. A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny.*

In all these cases the silver coin intended is the Roman denarius.

So much then for the silver coins of the New Testament. The results, if a trifle meagre, are at least satisfactory as far as they go. The difficulties really thicken about the enquiry with the copper coins, partly because the whole question of the various denominations of copper coinage among the ancients is by no means cleared up, and partly because the exact relation of copper to silver not only remains a mystery at the best of times; but apparently the value of any denomination changed in considerable degree from generation to generation, as for example in the reduction of the original Roman *As*, or in the series issued by Chios in Imperial times; and lastly because it is the rarest thing for a coin of antiquity to bear upon its face any indication of value.

The weights of different specimens of presumably the same coin and denomination vary to an extraordinary degree; and the readiness with which copper is affected by earth and air, makes the task more precarious still, while the carelessness of moneyers and mint officials, who did not find the same need for exactness in the use of copper, as they did in the more precious metals, adds to the puzzle.

Perhaps an illustration will make this clear.

There is a recognized denomination known as the *chalcous*. I possess three coins in my collection with marks of value in terms of chalcoi. The first is a coin of Demetrius I. of Syria, B.C. 162-150. Probably it was quite well known to the Jews of that day. It is definitely marked one chalcous and though it is only fairly well preserved, it weighs 82 grains. The next is the well known coin of Herod the Great with the mark of value, supposed to mean three chalcoi. It weighs 94 grains. Lastly I have a dichalcon, or two chalcoi piece of Chios, which is plainly so called upon the face of the coin. Its date is about the middle of the first century A.D. It weighs 38 grains. Hence the chalcous is variously, say 82 grains, 31 and 17, which is apt to be confusing.

At the same time a patient investigation will yield some results and perhaps, if modesty must remain satisfied for the most part with conjecture, yet a clearer understanding generally may be assured.

As in the discussion of the silver coins, it will be as well to examine the different words used in the Greek, and go behind the English translation, which in the case of the copper coins, is more hopelessly misleading than ever.

1. $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ = a piece of brass money = Chalcous.

This occurs in S. Mark XII, 41. I quote the whole passage because it bears on two other names for coins.

Other passages, in which $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ is used, appear to refer to copper money in general, as has been said already, and not to a coin.

Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast a piece of brass money (ὁ ἑγγυς βάλει χαλκόν) into the treasury; and many that were rich cast in much (πολλά, that is, many pieces).

And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing (λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης).

And he called to him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more (πλεον) in than all they which have cast into the treasury.

For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had (πάντα ὅσα ἔχεν; that is, all the pieces she possessed, namely, two), even all her living.

It will be noted that in the first verse I have incorporated the more accurate marginal rendering of the Authorised Version.

The parallel passage in S. Luke XXI, 1-4, adds nothing to this, except that the Evangelist calls the payment a gift, voluntary and not compulsory.

A close study of this passage is illuminating. The word "chalcous" is used much as the word "copper" is, in such a phrase as "Spare a copper", meaning either a penny or a halfpenny or even perhaps in hope that the charitable will give a little more.

Secondly, the money cast into the treasury was Jewish and not heathen, because it was for the service of Jehovah; and the money-changers existed for this very purpose of changing heathen money into Jewish, thereby obliging the faithful and incidentally enriching themselves.

Hence it is natural to conclude that the coins being cast into the treasury were strictly Jewish coins; and significantly therefore copper: for the Maccabean silver could never have been a very large issue, and had disappeared from the currency long before this, which is the reason why the Tyrian shekels were accepted in payment of the sacred tribute.

The choice of strictly Jewish copper is accordingly limited to the coins of the Hashmonean or the Herodian families or the small copper of the Procurators. These last may probably be ruled out of court; and with some degree of certainty it may be said that the popular coins for this purpose were the small copper of Alexander Jannaeus and his successors. The heaviest I possess of Alexander Jannaeus weighs 48 grs. and is described above, No. 11. This may well have been known as a chalcous in popular language.

2. λεπτόν = Lepton = mite.

This word occurs in the parallel passage in S. Luke, namely XXI, 2, to that which is above quoted; and in S. Luke XII, 59, "Thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite. (τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτόν).

The lepton is the smallest Greek copper coin, a lepton of Athens for example, weighs about 15 grains. Its description is as follows:

Obverse.		Reverse.
109. Cicala : border of dots.	Amphora, AOE.	Pl. IX. 16.
110. Head of Pallas : border of dots.	Lamp. AOE.	
Æ. 4/12.	Wt. : 15 grs.	Pl. IX. 17.

It is said, though with no secure foundation, that seven lepta went to the chalcous. The name is still retained in the modern Greek coinage of today.

Obviously the point about the coin mentioned is that it is the smallest Jewish coin known, and happily it is comparatively easy to attribute. To quote from the admirable article of the Rev. A.R.S. Kennedy in 'Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible', "It can only be the *pēriutab* (פֶּרִיטָב), so often spoken of in the Mishna as proverbially the smallest Jewish coin (so Luke XII, 59). In at least two places (*Kiddush*, I, 1, *Ediyy*. IV, 7), it is expressly declared to have been tariffed as one eighth of the Italian or Roman *as* (אֶשְׂרֵי אִתְּרִיקִי *iṣṣār* (or *aṣṣār*) *italki*), in other words, the half of the Roman quadrans".

S. Mark therefore is strictly accurate in his expression λεπτὰ δύο ἢ ἑστρα κωδράντης, two mites which make a farthing.

What then did the poor widow pay into the treasury? Perhaps a single coin, the dilepton or the quadrans or the chalcous or, with more probability, two small coins weighing about 15 grains apiece. In that case the widow's mite is to be found in the smallest coins of the Hashmonean dynasty, either the coins of Alexander Jannaeus or his successors, rather than one of the smaller coins of the Herod family. Such a coin is as follows: —

Obverse.		Reverse.
111. Anchor within circle.	Rayed sun with circle of dots.	
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.	מִלְכֵּנוֹסֶס נֶדֶר	Pl. IX. 15.
Æ.	Wt. : 15 grs.	

3. Κωδράντης = quadrans = farthing.

This word also occurs in two passages.

S. Matt. V, 26. "Till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing". (τὸν ἔσχατον κωδράντην) and S. Mark XII, 42. "She threw in two mites, which make a farthing" (λεπτὰ δύο, ἢ ἑστρα κωδράντης).

There is no doubt that the κωδράντης is meant to be the Roman quadrans, which was one eighth of the as. Having said so much, the rest must be a matter of inference.

Both the passages are, however, significant. The first is written by S. Matthew, who, as a publican, might be expected to be careful in his use of monetary terms. As a glance at the parallel passages shews, he uses the word *κοδράντης*, where S. Luke with his instinctive Greek feeling uses the word *λεπτόν*. Both obviously mean the smallest coin known in either the Latin or the Greek world. They do not necessarily identify the *κοδράντης* with the *λεπτόν*.

This is clear from the passage in S. Mark, where the explanation of the Evangelist for the sake of his Roman readers, who would not naturally be familiar with Greek coinage is, that the poor widow's offering was equal to the smallest sum, which he could conveniently call the quadrans — for the quadrans was always the smallest Roman coin.

The smallest contemporary coin would be the third brass, as it is called by numismatists, of Tiberius.

The description of such a coin is as follows : —

Obverse.	Reverse.
112. Laureate head of Emperor to right : border of dots.	Altar : border of dots.
TI. CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT VII.	In exergue. ROM ET AVG.
Æ. 9/12.	Wt. : 62 grs. Pl. IX. 13.

Perhaps, however, S. Mark was writing about the time of Nero and the coin might be a third brass of Nero, as follows : —

Obverse.	Reverse.
113. Laureate head of Emperor to right : border of dots.	Gaming table : border of dots.
NERO CAES. AVG IMP.	CER QVINQ ROMA C.O.S.C.
Æ. 9/12.	Wt. : 62 grs. Pl. IX. 14.

If, on the other hand, by the Evangelist's expression a contemporary current coin is intended, the most natural would be the coin of Pontius Pilate, of which the description is as follows : —

Obverse.	Reverse.
114. Augur's wand : border of dots.	L IH (year 18, A.D. 31-32) within wreath.
TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC.	Wt. : 33 grs. Pl. IX. 9.
Æ. 7/12.	

This coin must have been called equally a χαλκός (chalcous) or a quadrans, though more strictly perhaps, it is rather a dilepton.

Mr. Kennedy's article should again be consulted for an ingenious theory to account for the identification of the χαλκός and the quadrans.

4. Ασάριον¹ = Assarion, *Anglice* (incorrectly) farthing.

The name of this coin occurs twice in the New Testament. S. Matthew X, 29. “*Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?*” (οὐχὶ δύο σπέρουθια ἀσάριον πωλεῖται); and S. Luke XII, 6. “*Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings?*” (οὐχὶ πέντε σπέρουθια πωλεῖται ἀσάριων δύο.)

It seems absolutely essential to the force and meaning of these two passages that Our Lord should have referred to a definite and recognised coin by the word “assarion”; and though it may be impossible to identify the Greek *assarion* with the Roman *as*, and even hazardous to guess at the relation between the two, yet a definite coin and not a mere hypothetical value must be sought after.

What is more natural than to suppose that the coin indicated is one of those which issued so freely from the newly appointed mint at Antioch? The Emperor Augustus had founded this mint for the East; communication between Antioch and the Holy Land was most frequent. Indeed coins of Antioch with the countermark ΓΑΔ, standing for Gadara, are extant, which clearly prove that they were current in Palestine. On such a supposition — which is not a large nor improbable one — the assarion would be the *as* or second brass coin of Antioch, and the two assaria piece, the dupondius or first brass, and so the Vulgate correctly translates the passage from S. Luke: *nonne quinque passeris veneunt dipondio?*

The coins then might be either of Augustus or of Tiberius, though probably the former, because the latter are much more rare. They exist in two series, either with Latin or Greek legends; and their description is as follows:

Obverse.	Reverse.
115. Laureate head of Augustus to right: border of dots. IMP. AVGVST. TR. POT. Æ. 1 inch.	Within laurel wreath, S. C.
116. Similar; but the legend, ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ	Wt. : 271 grs. PL. IX. 9. Similar; but within wreath, ΑΡΧΙΕ

1. PL. IX. 12.

APXIEPEI.

PATIKON
ANTIOXEIΣ.

ZK = year 27 = B. C. 5.
Pl. IX. 10.

This coin is the two assaria piece; the assarion is similar, but half the size and only weighs 146 grains.

The coins of Tiberius are similar in type, but of course the legend varies. Thus the Latin coin reads on the obverse, **TI CAESAR·AVG TR· POT XXXIII**; and the Greek inscribed coin on the obverse

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ and the reverse
**ΕΠΙ ΣΙ
ΛΑΝΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΟ
ΧΕΩΝ
ΕΜ**
Pl. IX. 11.

The date **ΕΜ** is the year 45 reckoned from the era, beginning with the battle of Actium B. C. 31, and the **A** stands for the first regnal year of Tiberius, which is A. D. 14.

This coin completes the monies of the New Testament.
It may be worth while to summarise them thus :

GOLD :

Aureus of Tiberius.

Pl. IX. 2.

SILVER :

Stater of Antioch, and Shekel of Tyre.

(Thirty pieces of silver : money in fish's mouth.)

Drachma of Caesarea.

(Lost piece of silver.)

Denarius.

(Tribute penny : and penny *passim*.)

COPPER :

Chalcous of Alexander Jannaeus.

(Money cast into the Treasury.)

Lepton of Jannaeus or successors.

(Widow's mite.)

Quadrans of Pontius Pilate.

Cf. Illrd. Brass of Augustus, Tiberius or Nero.

(Uttermost farthing.)

Ind. Brass of Antioch.

(Value of a sparrow.)

1st. Brass of Antioch.
(Value of five sparrows.)

The only coins, as apart from ingots of recognized weight, which are to be found in the Old Testament after the Return from the Captivity are :

GOLD :

Daric of Achaemenidae.

PL. IX. 1.

SILVER :

Siglos of same.

PL. IX. 3.

Once more it would be rash to claim finality ; once more it is well to urge the interest of a study, which has a value both in its results and in the possibility of fresh knowledge, where mere association makes every crumb of knowledge a pearl.

For the merit of this inquiry, if any, the writer thanks God, and for its faults asks pardon of Him and of the reader. At least he can plead, what the great German philosopher called the one essential thing, a good will.

A TABLE
TO CONNECT THE LEGENDS WITH THE COINS DESCRIBED.

NO. OF LEGEND	NUMBER OF COIN IN TEXT
Chapter I.	Chapter II to end.
1	4. Pl. I. 5.
2	4. Pl. I. 7.
3	4. Pl. I. 5, 6.
4	4. Pl. I. 4.
5	4.
6	1, 2, 3. Pl. I. 1.
7	1. Pl. I. 1.
8	2. Pl. I. 2.
9	3.
10	6. Pl. I. 11.
11	6. Pl. I. 10.
12	6.
13	Pl. I. 12.
14	9, 10, 11. Pl. I. 13, 14.
15	8. Pl. I. 16.
16	8.
17	
18	12.
19	13. Pl. I. 18.
20	14, 97. Pl. I. 19, 20.
21	51. Pl. III. 15.
22	52. Pl. III. 16.
23	51, 52. Pl. III. 15, 16.
24	90, 91, 96. Pl. V. 1, 2, 7.
25	97, 98, 99. Pl. V. 3, 4, 5. VII. 2.
26	88, 89, 91, 98, 99, 100. Pl. V. 7, 6, 9, 11. VI. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14. Pl. VII. 1, 3, 4.
27	88, 97, 100. Pl. V. 10, 12. Chap. V. <i>init.</i> VI. 11.
28	88, 90, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99. Pl. V. 3, 4, 5. Chap. V. <i>init.</i> VI. 7. VII. 2.
29	88, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100. Pl. V. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. VI. 2, 3, 7.
30	88, 89, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100. Pl. V. 2, 7, 8. VI. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Pl. VII. 1, 3, 4.
31	5. Pl. I. 8.
32	9, 11, 13. Pl. I. 17, 18.
33	12.

NO. OF LEGEND	NUMBER OF COIN IN TEXT.
Chapter I.	Chapter II to end.
34	14. Pl. I. 20, 21.
35	17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27. Pl. II. I, 6.
36	28, 29, 30, 31, 32. Pl. II. 8, 10.
37	33. Pl. II. 11.
38	33. Pl. II. 11.
39	33.
40	34. Pl. II. 12.
41	35. Pl. II. 13.
42	34, 35. Pl. II. 12, 13.
43	36. Pl. II. 14.
44	37. Pl. III. 1.
45	38.
46	41.
47	41, 43. Pl. III. 3, 5.
48	45. Pl. III. 9.
49	46, 47. Pl. III. 8.
50	39.
51	42, 43. Pl. III. 5.
52	40, 42, 44, 45. Pl. III. 2, 4, 6, 7.
53	46. Pl. III. 5.
54	48. Pl. III. 10.
55	49.
56	48. Pl. III. 10.
57	49. Pl. III. 11.
58	50. Pl. III. 12, 13.
59	50. Pl. III. 12, 13.
60	56.
61	56.
62	73, 74, 75. Pl. IV. 4.
63	73, 74. Pl. IV. 4.
64	55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 71. Pl. III. 20. Pl. IV. 1.
65	63, 47, 77.
66	63, 67.
67	63, 71, 76, 77.
68	63, 71.
69	63, 71.
70	62.
71	55, 66, 70, 71. Pl. IV. 2.
72	63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 80, 83. Pl. IV. 1, 3, 7, 10.
73	66, 72.
74	61.
75	62.
76	

NO. OF LEGEND	NUMBER OF COIN IN TEXT.
Chapter I.	Chapter II to end.
77	Pl. IV. 6.
78	72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80. Pl. IV. 10,
79	
80	79.
81	81, 82, 83, 84. Pl. IV. 8. 9.
82	81.
83	85. Pl. IV. 11.
84	85. Pl. IV. 11.
85	86, 87. Pl. IV. 12.
86	86. Pl. IV. 12.
87	87.

KEY TO THE PLATES.

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
PLATE I.			
1	Æ.	<i>Early Maccabæan</i> . Obv. Citron between lulabs. L. 7 . Rev. Palm tree between baskets. L. 6 . British Museum Collection.	1
2	Æ.	<i>Early Maccabæan</i> . Obv. only. Two lulabs. L. 8 . B. M. Collection.	2
3	Æ.	<i>Early Maccabæan</i> . Obv. only of following coin with round Ψ instead of pointed. B. M. Collection.	3
4	Æ.	<i>Early Maccabæan</i> . Obv. Lulab between citrons. L. 9 . Rev. Chalice. L. 6 . B. M. Collection.	3
5	AR.	<i>Simon Maccabæus</i> . Obv. Chalice; above first-year date F. L. 3 . Rev. Spring flower. L. 1 . <i>Shekel</i> . My collection.	4
6	AR.	<i>John Hyrcanus</i> . Obverse only of fifth year ΞW . <i>Shekel</i> . L. 3 . Mr Mayer's Collection.	4
7	AR.	<i>Simon Maccabæus</i> . Similar to shekel but second year ΞW . Obv. L. 4 . Rev. L. 2 . Half <i>Shekel</i> . My collection.	4
8	Æ.	<i>Antiochus VII of Syria</i> . Obv. Lily. Rev. Anchor L. 31 . Date ΑΠΡ . My collection.	5
9	Æ.	<i>John Hyrcanus</i> . Obv. Helmet. Rev. Double cornucopiae. B. M. Collection.	7
10	Æ.	<i>John Hyrcanus</i> . Obv. L. 11 in wreath of olive. Rev. Cornucopiae. My collection.	6b
11	Æ.	<i>John Hyrcanus</i> . Obv. Flower. ℞ . Palm branch. L. 10 . B. M. Collection.	p. 26
12	Æ.	<i>Judas Aristobulus</i> . Obv. L. 13 in wreath of olive. Rev. Cornucopiae. B. M. Collection.	p. 25
13	Æ.	<i>Alexander Jannæus</i> . Obv. Flower L. 14 . Rev. Anchor in circle. B. M. Collection.	9
14	Æ.	<i>Alexander Jannæus</i> . Obv. Palm branch. L. 14 . Rev. Flower. B. M. Collection.	10
15	Æ.	<i>Alexander Jannæus</i> . Restruck Pontifical. My collection.	8a
16	Æ.	<i>Alexander Jannæus</i> . Obv. L. 15 in wreath of olive. Rev. Cornucopiae. My collection.	8b
17	Æ.	<i>Alexander Jannæus</i> . Obv. Sun in which L . Rev. Anchor. L. 32 . My collection.	11

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
18	Æ.	<i>John Hyrcanus II.</i> Obv. Anchor L. 32. Rev. Sun. L. 19. <i>Lepton.</i> My collection.	13
19	Æ.	<i>Antigonus.</i> Obv. 1 st word of L. 20. in wreath. Rev. Ear of corn between cornucopiae. B. M. Collection.	p. 28
20	Æ.	<i>Antigonus.</i> Obv. L. 34 in wreath. Rev. Cornucopiae between vine leaves. My collection.	15
21	Æ.	<i>Antigonus.</i> Obv. Wreath L. 34. Rev. Cornucopiae L. 20. B. M. Collection.	14
PLATE II.			
1	Æ.	<i>Herod the Great.</i> Obv. Helmet between palms : above star. Rev. Tripod L. 35. My collection.	17
2	Æ.	<i>Herod the Great.</i> Obv. Helmet L. 35. Rev. Shield. My collection.	19
3	Æ.	<i>Herod the Great.</i> Obv. Caduceus L. 35. Rev. Pomegranate between branches. B. M. Collection.	20
4	Æ.	<i>Herod the Great.</i> Obv. Tripod between branches. Rev. X within wreath L. 35. My collection.	24
5	Æ.	<i>Herod the Great.</i> Anchor L. 35. Rev. Cornucopiae. B. M. Collection.	25
6	Æ.	<i>Herod the Great.</i> Obv. Cornucopiae L. 35. Rev. Eagle. My collection.	27
7	Æ.	<i>Herod Archelaus.</i> Obv. Prow. L. 36. Rev. L. 36 in wreath. My collection.	29
8	Æ.	<i>Herod Archelaus.</i> Obv. Double cornucopiae L. 36. Rev. Galley, L. 36. My collection.	30
9	Æ.	<i>Herod Archelaus.</i> Obv. Bunch of grapes. L. 36. Rev. Helmet. L. 36. My collection.	31
10	Æ.	<i>Herod Archelaus.</i> Obv. Anchor. L. 36. Rev. L. 36 in wreath. My collection.	28
11	Æ.	<i>Herod Antipas.</i> Obv. Palm branch. L. 37. Rev. L. 38. in wreath. B. M. Collection.	33
12	Æ.	<i>Herod Philip II.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Augustus. L. 40. Rev. Tetrastyle temple. L. 42 (retrograde). B. M. Collection.	34
13	Æ.	<i>Herod Philip II.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Tiberius. L. 41. Rev. Temple. L. 42. B. M. Collection.	35

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
14	Æ.	<i>Herod Agrippa I.</i> Obv. Umbrella. L. 43. Rev. Three ears of corn. L. 43. My collection.	36
15	Æ.	<i>Herod Agrippa I</i> (?). Obv. Head of Emperor Caius. ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ. Rev. Nike : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. B. M. Collection.	p. 35
16	Æ.	<i>Herod Agrippa II.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Vespasian. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ. ΟΥΕΣ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ CEΒΑΣΤΩ. Rev. Tyche with cornucopiae and ear of corn. In field ΕΤ ΔΙ ΒΑ ΑΓΡΙΠ-ΠΑ. B. M. Collection	p. 35
17	Æ.	<i>Herod Agrippa II.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Domitian. IM·CA·D·VES·F·DOM [AV GER] COS XII. Rev. In field S·C. ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙ. In exergue ΕΤ·KS. My collection.	p. 35
PLATE III.			
1	Æ.	<i>Coponius.</i> Obv. Ear of corn. L. 44. Rev. Palm tree. Date ΛΑΓ. B. M. collection.	37
2	Æ.	<i>Valerius Gratus.</i> Obv. L. 52 in wreath. Rev. Olive branch. Date ΛΒ. My collection.	40
3	Æ.	<i>Valerius Gratus.</i> Obv. Caduceus between cornucopiae. L. 47. Rev. L. 46 in wreath. My collection.	41
4	Æ.	<i>Valerius Gratus.</i> Obv. L. 52. in wreath. Rev. Triple Lily. My collection.	42
5	Æ.	<i>Valerius Gratus.</i> Obv. Vineleaf. L. 47. Rev. Diota. L. 51. B. M. Collection.	43
6	Æ.	<i>Valerius Gratus.</i> Obv. Vineleaf. L. 52. Rev. Diota and date ΛΔ. B. M. Collection.	44
7	Æ.	<i>Valerius Gratus.</i> Obv. L. 48. in wreath. Rev. Palm branch. L. 52. Date ΛΕ. My collection.	45
8	Æ.	<i>Pontius Pilate.</i> Obv. Simpulum. L. 49. Rev. Three ears of corn. L. 53. My collection.	46
9	Æ.	<i>Pontius Pilate.</i> Obv. Augur's wand. L. 48. Rev. Date ΛΙΖ in wreath. My collection.	47
10	Æ.	<i>Felix.</i> Obv. Two palms crossed. L. 54. Rev. L. 56. in wreath. Date ΛΙΑ. My collection.	48
11	Æ.	<i>Felix.</i> Obv. Two shields and javelins crossed. L. 55. Rev. Palm tree. L. 57. Date ΛΙΑ. My collection.	49
12	Æ.	<i>Festus.</i> Obv. Palm branch. L. 58. Rev. L. 59. in wreath (retrograde). My collection.	50
13	Æ.	<i>Festus.</i> Similar to last but not retrograde. My collection.	50

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
14	Æ.	<i>First Revolt.</i> Obv. Three palm branches tied together ... רבט... Rev. A within jewelled wreath. <i>Quarter Shekel.</i> B. M. Collection.	
15	Æ.	<i>First Revolt.</i> Obv. Diota. L. 21. Rev. Vineleaf. L. 23. My collection.	51
16	Æ.	<i>First Revolt.</i> Obv. Diota with cover. L. 22. Rev. Vine-leaf. L. 23. B. M. Collection.	52
17	Æ.	<i>First Revolt.</i> Obv. Diota. L. ? Rev. Vine-leaf. L. ? B. M. Collection.	
18	Æ.	<i>Roman.</i> Obv. Turreted head of Cybele. A·PLAVTIVS AED CUR. S·C. Rev. Jew kneeling by Camel. BACCHIVS JVDAEVS. <i>Babelon, 13.</i> Spink and Son Ltd.	p. 29
19	Æ.	<i>Roman.</i> Obv. King Aretas kneeling to right beside camel. M·SCAVR·AED·CVR·EX·S·C. ; exergue REX ARETAS. Rev. Quadriga to left P·HVPSAE AED·CVR·C·HVPSAE COS·PREIVE CAPTV. <i>Babelon, 8.</i> My collection.	p. 29
20	Æ.	<i>Vespasian.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor. L. 64. Rev. Judaea seated at foot by trophy. IVDAEA in exergue. <i>Aureus. Cohen, 225.</i> Mr Campion's collection.	57
21	Æ.	<i>Vespasian.</i> Obv. as last. Rev. Emperor standing at palm tree, Jewess seated. <i>Denarius. Cohen, 645.</i> Mr Campion's collection.	60
22	Æ.	<i>Vespasian.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor CAESAR VESPASIANVS CAESAR. Rev. Sow to left with litter: in exergue IMP XIX. <i>Denarius. Cohen, 213.</i> Mr Campion's collection.	p. 48
23	Æ.	<i>Vespasian.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor IMP·CAES·VESP·AVG·RR·COS IIII. Rev. Victory crowning trophy VICTORIA AVGVSTI. <i>Denarius. Cohen, 618.</i> Mr Campion's collection.	p. 48
24	Æ.	<i>Titus.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor TITVS CAES VESPASI... Rev. Jew kneeling at foot of trophy. TR·P·VIII·IMP XIII·COS VII. <i>Denarius. Cohen, 274.</i> Mr Campion's collection.	p. 48
PLATE IV.			
1	Æ.	<i>Vespasian.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Vespasian. L. 64-69. Rev. Jew standing by Palm	63 a

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
		tree, Jewess on ground. L. 72 with S.C. <i>Cohen</i> , 232. Mr Campion's collection.	66
2	Æ.	<i>Vespasian. Reverse only.</i> Victory writing on shield attached to Palm tree, Jewess seated. L. 71 with S.C. <i>Cohen</i> , 628. Mr Campion's collection.	64 b
3	Æ.	<i>Vespasian. Reverse only.</i> Emperor standing by Palm tree, Jewess seated. L. 72 with S.C. <i>Cohen</i> , 239. Mr Campion's collection.	73
4	Æ.	<i>Titus.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Titus. L. 62. Rev. Trophy, etc. L. 63. Mr Campion's collection.	
5	Æ.	<i>Herod Agrippa II.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Domitian. [ΔΟΜΕΤ] ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Rev. Winged victory writing on shield ΕΤΟ. ΚΣ. ΒΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Star above shield. <i>To go with Plate II.</i> My collection.	p. 35
6	Æ.	<i>Vespasian. Reverse only.</i> Victory on prow. L. 77 with S.C. <i>Cohen</i> , 632. Mr Campion's collection.	71
7	Æ.	<i>Vespasian.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor. L. 64-69. Rev. Jewess seated right of Palm tree and trophy of arms. L. 72 with S.C. <i>Cohen</i> , 246. Mr Campion's collection.	69
8	Æ.	<i>Domitian.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor to left. L. 81. Rev. Pallas with trophy of arms. Mr Campion's collection.	82
9	Æ.	<i>Domitian.</i> Obv. Radiate head of Emperor. L. 81. Rev. Palm tree. L. 81. B. M. Collection.	84
10	Æ.	<i>Titus.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor to left. L. 78. Rev. Palm tree with Jew and Jewess. L. 72 in field with S.C. <i>Cohen</i> , 107. Mr Campion's Collection.	85
11	Æ.	<i>Nerva.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Emperor. L. 83. Rev. Palm tree with S.C. in field. L. 84. <i>Cohen</i> , 127. Mr Campion's collection.	86
12	Æ.	<i>Hadrian.</i> Obv. Bare head of Emperor. L. 85. Rev. Judaea with children advancing to Hadrian at altar. L. 86 with S.C. <i>Cohen</i> , 51. B. M. Collection.	
		PLATE V.	95
1	Æ.	<i>Eleazar.</i> Obv. Palm tree. L. 24 (retrograde). Rev. Bunch of grapes. L. 29. My collection.	

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
2	Æ.	<i>Eleazar</i> . Obv. Palm tree. L. 24 . Rev. Bunch of grapes. L. 30 . My collection.	95
3	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. L. 25 in laurel wreath. Rev. Vase. L. 28 . My collection.	97 c
4	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. Palm tree. L. 25 . Rev. Vine- leaf. L. 28 . My collection.	98 a
5	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. Palm branch in wreath. L. 25 . Rev. Lyre with six strings. L. 28 . My collection.	99 a
6	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. Screen before Holy of Holies. L. 26 . Rev. Lulab and citron. L. 29 . <i>Overstruck tetradrachm</i> . B. M. Collection.	88-c
<p><i>Note.</i> At head of Chapter V. appears a large Æ of same type as two last. Obv. L. 27. in wreath. Rev. Vase. L. 28. Vide 97a; from my collection.</p>			p. 51
7	Æ.	<i>Eleazar and Simon</i> . Obv. Jug and palm branch. L. 24 . Rev. L. 26 in wreath. <i>Quarter shekel</i> . B. M. Collection.	91
8	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. Palm branch in wreath. L. 30 . Rev. Lyre with four strings. L. 29 . Mr Mayer's collection.	99 b
9	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. Palm tree. L. 26 . Rev. Vine- leaf. L. 29 . On obv. note form of vase. My collection.	98 b
10	Æ.	<i>Jerusalem</i> . Obv. Screen before Holy of Holies. L. 27 . Rev. Lulab and citron. L. 29 . <i>Overstruck tetradrachm</i> . B. M. Collection.	88 b
11	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. L. 26 in wreath. Rev. Vase. L. 29 . My collection.	97 d
12	Æ.	<i>Jerusalem</i> . Obv. L. 27 in wreath. Rev. Vase. L. 29 . My collection.	97 b
PLATE VI.			
1	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. Screen before Holy of Holies. L. 26 . Rev. Lulab and citron. L. 30 . <i>Over- struck on tetradrachm of Vespasian of Antioch</i> . My collection.	88 d
2	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. L. 26 in wreath. Rev. Palm branch. L. 29 . <i>Overstruck Denarius</i> . My collection.	94 a
3	Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Obv. L. 26 in wreath. Rev. Two trumpets. L. 29 . <i>Overstruck Denarius</i> . My collection.	94 d

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
4	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. L. 26 in wreath. Rev. Jug and Palm. L. 30. <i>Overstruck Denarius.</i> My collection.	94 c
5	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Bunch of grapes. L. 26. Rev. Lyre. L. 30. <i>Overstruck Denarius.</i> My collection.	95 d
6	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. L. 26 in wreath. Rev. Jug. L. 30. <i>Overstruck Denarius.</i> My collection.	94 b
7	Æ.	<i>Mule.</i> Obv. Bunch of grapes. L. 28. Rev. Palm branch. L. 29. <i>Overstruck Denarius,</i> B. M. Collection.	92
8	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Bunch of grapes. L. 26. Rev. Palm branch. L. 30. <i>Overstruck on Denarius of Trajan.</i> My collection.	95 a
9	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Lyre with three strings. L. 26. Rev. Palm branch in wreath. L. 30. My collection.	99 c
10	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Palm tree. L. 26. Rev. Bunch of grapes. L. 30. My collection.	100 c 100 b
11	Æ.	<i>Jerusalem.</i> Obv. Palm tree. L. 27. Rev. Bunch of grapes. L. 30. My collection.	
12	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Palm tree. L. 26. Rev. Vine-leaf. L. 30. My collection.	98 c
13	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Similar to last but difference in Vase. B. M. collection.	98 c
14	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Screen before Holy of Holies — above wavy line. L. 26. Rev. Lulab and citron. L. 30. <i>Overstruck tetradrachm.</i> My collection.	89
PLATE VII.			
1	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Screen before Holy of Holies. L. 26. Rev. Lulab and citron. L. 30. Placed to shew overstriking on tetradrachm of Trajan. My collection.	88 d
2	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Palm branch in wreath. L. 25. Rev. Lyre with four strings. L. 28. My collection.	99 a
3	Æ.	<i>Simon.</i> Obv. Palm tree. L. 26. Rev. Vine-leaf. L. 30. AP TPA — overstruck on Æ of Trajan at Gaza. The Tyche of Trajan's coin quite clear. My collection.	98 c

NO.	METAL.	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
4	.Æ.	<i>Simon</i> . Similar to last but overstruck on a Ptolemy .Æ. Rev. reads IOY--BAZI-ΛΕΩΣ . My collection.	98c
5	.Æ.	<i>Aelia Capitolina</i> . Obv. Laureate head of Hadrian IMP CAES TRAIANO HADRIANO . Rev. Colon ploughing with two oxen COL ΔΕΛ ΚΑΡΙΤ COND . B. M. Collection.	101
6	.Æ.	<i>Uncertain ?</i> Antigonos or Mohammedan. Obv. Tetrastyle screen. Rev. Seven branched candlestick ? L . B. M. Collection.	16
7	.Æ.	<i>Mohammedan Coin</i> . محمد رسول الله Mohammed is the Apostle of God. Figure of the Khalif, standing, facing, girt with a sword. Rev. To r. فلسطين "Palestine"; to left ايليا "Aelia". Half moon over the letter م ; below. Cf. Madden, p. 277, n° 2. B. M. Collection.	104
8	N.	<i>Christian imitation of Dinar of Fatimi Khalif Abu' Ali el-Mansur Amer bi Akham Illah</i> . A. H. 495-524 = A. D. 1101-1129. Coin attributed to Baldwin II (1118-1131). Cf. Schlumberger, Pl. V, 21. B. M. Collection.	p. 63
KINGS OF JERUSALEM.			
9	Æ.	<i>Amalric I</i> . 1162-1173. Æ. Denier. Obv. AMALRICVS REX . Cross pattée with two annulets in opposite angles. Rev. + DE IERUSALEM . The Holy Sepulchre. Schlumb., Pl. III, 19. B. M. Collection.	p. 63
10	Æ.	<i>Baldwin IV</i> . 1173-1185. Æ. Denier. Obv. BALDVINVS REX . Cross pattée. Rev. DE IERUSALEM . The Tower of David. Schlumb., Pl. III, 21. B. M. Collection.	p. 63
11	Æ.	<i>Guy de Lusignan</i> . 1186-1192. Denier. Obv. + REX GVIDO D . Bearded head of King, facing; on either side, a pellet. Rev. + E IERUSALEM . The Dome of the Temple. Schlumb., Pl. III, 25. B. M. Collection.	p. 53

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
LORDS OF BEYRUT.			
12	Æ.	<i>John II</i> (?). † 1264. Denier. Obv. + DE BARVTH. Turreted camp gate. Rev. Network of squares with pellets in each square. Schlumb., Pl. V, 11. B. M. Collection.	p. 63
KINGS OF CYPRUS.			
13	Æ.	<i>Henry II</i> , before Amalric's usurpation (1285-1306). Æ. Gros. Obv. + HENRI REI' D. The King facing, enthroned, wearing crown and bearing sceptre and orb. Rev. + IERVSALEM ED' CHIPR'. The Cypriote lion. Schlumb., Pl. VI, 15. B. M. Collection.	p. 64
14	Æ.	<i>Amalric</i> . Prince of Tyre, and brother of Henry II (1306-1312). Æ. Gros. Obv. ✠ AMALRIC . TIRENSIS . DOMINIS. (outer legend) CIPRI GVB' NATO' E' RETOR. The Cypriote lion. Rev. + IRL' M : ET : CIPRI . REGIS . FILIVS. Shield of arms of Jerusalem and Cyprus, above and on either side, foliate ornaments. Schlumb., Pl. VI, 19. B. M. Collection.	p. 64
PLATE VIII.			
1	Æ.	<i>Henry II</i> . 1253-1267. Æ. Gros. Obv. + HENRI RE RIE. King enthroned facing crowned, and holding sceptre and orb. Rev. + IERVSALEM ED' CHIPR. Cross of Jerusalem with crosslets in angles. Schlumb., Pl. VI, 21. Messrs. Spink.	p. 64
2	Æ.	<i>Peter II</i> . 1369-1382. Æ. Gros. Obv. PIERE PAR LAGRACE . . . King enthroned, facing, holding orb and sceptre; to r. R. Rev. + DE IERVSALEM ET DE CHIPR. Cross of Jerusalem. Schlumb., Pl. VII, 4. Messrs. Spink.	p. 64
GRAND MASTERS OF MALTA.			
3	Æ.	<i>Alof de Wignacourt</i> . 1601-22. Æ. 4 Tari, 1611. Obv. F. ALOFIVS DE WIGNACOVRT. Crowned shield, quadripartite;	p. 65

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF THE COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
4	Æ.	<p>between T—4. Rev. + S. IOAN. BAP. ORA. PRO. N. 1611. St. John the Baptist's head in a platter. Furse, p. 189. Lord Grenfell's collection.</p> <p><i>Antonio Manoel de Vilhena.</i> 1722-36. Æ. Double Scudo 1724. * F.D. AN: MANOEL DE VILHENA. Cuirassed and draped bust to right. Rev. M. MAGISTER HOSP: ET S. S. HIERVSA. 1724. Two oval shields ornamented under crown. Furse, p. 254. Lord Grenfell's collection.</p>	p. 65
KINGS OF SARDINIA.			
5	Æ.	<p><i>Victor Emanuel I.</i> 1814-1821. Æ. 5 Lire 1819. VIC. EM. D. G. REX SAR. CY P. ET IER. Head to right; below, 1819. R. DVX SAB. IANVAE ET MONTIS F. PRINC. PED &c. Crowned shield of arms within collar of the Order of the Annunziata; below L. 5. My collection.</p>	p. 64
OTHTMANLI SULTANS OF TURKEY.			
6	Æ.	<i>Abdul Aziz.</i> A. H. 1277-1293 (1861-1876). 5 Lire (or 500 Piastres). Year 13 of reign = A. H. 1290, A. D. 1874. My collection.	p. 65
7	Æ.	<i>Abdul-Medjid.</i> A. H. 1255-1277 (1839-1861). Medjidie of 20 Piastres. Year 17 of reign = A. H. 1272 = A. D. 1856. My collection.	p. 65
8	Æ.	<i>Abdul-Medjid.</i> 5 Paras. R. Y. 12 = 1267 = A. D. 1851. My collection.	p. 65
9	Nickel.	<i>Mohammed V.</i> A. H. 1327 = A. D. 1909. 5 Paras. R. Y. 2 = A. H. 1328. A. D. 1910. My collection.	p. 65
PLATE IX.			
1	Æ.	<i>Persia.</i> Obv. Great King (Darius I) running right with bow and spear. Rev. Incuse square. <i>Daric.</i> B. C. 521-486. <i>O. T. Gold.</i> My collection.	p. 81
2	Æ.	<i>Rome.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Tiberius to right. TI CAESAR DIVI AUG. F. AVGVS-TVS. Rev. Emperor seated on throne as a	108

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
		priest holding sceptre and palm branch PONTIF MAXIM. <i>Aureus. N. T. Gold.</i>	
3	Æ.	Messrs. Spink. <i>Persia.</i> Obv. Great King (Darius) running right with bow and spear. Rev. Incuse square. <i>Siglos. 5th century B.C. O.T. Silver.</i> My collection.	p. 81
4	Æ.	<i>Tyre.</i> Obv. Head of Melkarth: border of dots. Rev. Eagle with palm under shoulder: before, monogram, club of Tyre ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ date LZ = 119 B.C. below eagle Δ border of dots. <i>Piece of silver.</i> My collection.	p. 71
5	Æ.	<i>Antioch.</i> Obv. Head of Augustus ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Rev. Tyche with river god at feet. ΕΤΟΝΣ ΝΙΚΗΣ αΚ. <i>Tetradrachm. Piece of silver.</i> My collection.	106
6	Æ.	<i>Athens.</i> Obv. Head of Pallas. Rev. Owl, behind olive sprig with berry in incuse square. <i>Drachm. Lost piece of silver?</i>	107
7	Æ.	Messrs. Spink. <i>Caesarea in Cappadocia.</i> Obv. Head of Tiberius. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Rev. Male figure on Mount Argeus ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ. <i>Drachm. Lost piece of silver.</i> My collection.	108
8	Æ.	<i>Rome.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Tiberius: TI CAESAR DIVI AUG F AVGVSTI. Rev. Emperor seated as priest with sceptre and palm branch. PONTIF MAXIM. <i>Denarius. Bible penny.</i> My collection.	115
9	Æ.	<i>Antioch.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Augustus. IMP AVGVST. TR. POT. Rev. S.C in wreath. <i>Two farthing piece.</i> My collection.	116
10	Æ.	<i>Antioch.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Augustus. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ. Rev. Within wreath ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ. date ZK = B.C. 5. <i>Farthing.</i> My collection.	117
11	Æ.	<i>Antioch.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Tiberius. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Rev. in wreath. Α.ΕΠΙ.ΣΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ.ΕΜ. <i>Two farthing piece.</i> B. M. Collection.	p. 80
12	Æ.	<i>Chios.</i> Obv. Sphinx. ΧΙΩΝ. Rev. Amphora ΑCΑCΠΙΟΝ. <i>Assarion.</i> My collection.	p. 79

NO.	METAL	DESCRIPTION OF COIN.	NO. IN TEXT
13	Æ.	<i>Rome.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Tiberius : TI CAESAR AVGVST F. IMPERAT VII. Rev. altar. ROM ET AVG. <i>Quadrans ?</i> <i>? Roman farthing.</i> Mr P. Webb's collection.	112
14	Æ.	<i>Rome.</i> Obv. Laureate head of Nero. NERO CAES. AVG IMP. Rev. Gaming Table CER QVINQ ROMA. C. O. S. C. <i>Quadrans ?</i> <i>? Roman farthing.</i> Mr P. Webb's collection.	113
15	Æ.	<i>Alexander Jannæus.</i> Obv. Anchor in circle ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Rev. Rayed sun נרצדורעש גדל [cf. no. 13]. <i>Lepton. Widow's mite.</i>	111
16	Æ.	<i>Athens.</i> Obv. Cicala. Rev. Amphora ΑΘΕ. <i>Athenian lepton or mite.</i> My collection.	109
17	Æ.	<i>Athens.</i> Obv. Head of Pallas. Rev. Lamp ΑΘΕ. <i>Athenian Lepton or mite.</i> My collection.	110

HEBREW ALPHABET & EQUIVALENTS.

Name.	Form.	Sound.	General Coin Form ¹ .	Number.
Aleph	א	Smooth breathing	𐤀 𐤁 𐤂	1
Beth	ב	B	𐤃	2
Gimel	ג	G	𐤄	3
Daleth	ד	D	𐤅	4
He	ה	H	𐤆 𐤇	5
Vau	ו	V	𐤈 𐤉 𐤊 𐤋	6
Zayin	ז	Z	𐤌 𐤍	7
Heth	ח	H	𐤎	8
Teth	ט	Ṭ	none	9
Yodh	י	Y	𐤏 𐤐	10
Kaph	כ	K	𐤑	20
Lamedh	ל	L	𐤒	30
Mem	מ	M	𐤓	40
Nun	נ	N	𐤔	50
Samekh	ס	S	none	60
Ayin	ע	Aspirate	𐤕	70
Pe	פ	P	none	80
Çadha	צ	SS	𐤖	90
Qoph	ק	Q	𐤗	100
Resh	ר	R	𐤘	200
Shin	ש	SH	𐤙 𐤚 𐤛	300
Tau	ת	T	𐤜	400

Short ² / Vowels \ pāthah ַ = a as in fat ḥîreq ֿ = i as in pin qibbûç ֿ = u as in put
 še ghôl ֿ = e as in pen qâmêç ḥatûph ֿ = o as in on

1. The coin forms are only general : most letters present variations.
2. The Hebrews used no vowel signs : a much later invention gives the above, placed under the letter.

Long Vowels	{	qámeç	ā as in small	hireq	ī as in ravine	shùreq	u as in true
						qibbûç	
		çérê	ē as in pain			hòlem	ō as in bone
Indistinct/ Vowels	{	simple she va	e	e	e		
		composite she vas					
		or h̄ atephs	ā	ē	ō		

Adapted from Davidson's *Hebrew Grammar*.

A point (*Daghesb*) in the bosom of a letter either indicates the letter is doubled or in the case of the six letters בּגדכּפּתּ hardens the letter. If the *Daghesb Lene* is not present the letters are sounded bh gh dh kh ph th : is present as b.g.d.k.p.t.

GREEK ALPHABET & EQUIVALENTS.

Name.	Form.	Sound.	General Coin Form.	Number.
Alpha	Α	A	Α Α	1
Beta	Β	B	Β	2
Gamma	Γ	G	Γ	3
Delta	Δ	D	Δ	4
Epsilon	Ε	E	Ε €	5
Zeta	Ζ	Z	Ζ	7
Eta	Η	EE	Η	8
Theta	Θ	TH	Θ	9
Iota	Ι	I	Ι	10
Kappa	Κ	K	Κ	20
Lambda	Λ	L	Λ	30
Mu	Μ	M	Μ	40
Nu	Ν	N	Ν	50
Xi	Ξ	X	Ξ	60
Omicron	Ο	O (short)	Ο	70
Pi	Π	P	Π	80
Rho	Ρ	R	Ρ	100
Sigma	Σ	S	Σ C £	200
Tau	Τ	T	Τ	300
Upsilon	Υ	U	Υ	400
Phi	Φ	PH	Φ	500
Chi	Χ	CH	Χ	600
Psi	Ψ	PS	Ψ	700
Omega	Ω	O long	Ω ω	800

1. The aspirate at the beginning of a word is represented by an inverted comma thus *ô* = *ho*.

2. The sign for 6 is *ς* (*stigma*), an obsolete *ννν*: for 90 is *Ϟ*, an obsolete *koppa* so the sign for 900 is *Ϡ* (*san*).

A thousand is written *ζ*.

Numerals are often preceded by the sign *Λ* : or the word **ΕΤΟΥΣ**.

INDEX OF TEXT

A

Abd-al-Malik, 62.
 Abdul Aziz, 65.
 Abdul Hamid II, 65.
 Abdul Medjid, 65.
 Abomination of Desolation, 13.
 Abraham, 15, 16.
 Achaemenidae, 18, 81.
 Acre, 62, 64, 65.
 Actium, 30, 80.
 Adventui Aug Judaeae, 14.
 Aegina, 17.
 Aelia, 51, 61.
 Aelia Capitolina, types of, 59.
 Aes, 69.
 Agrippa I, *vid* Herod.
 Agrippa II, *vid* Herod.
 Agrippina, 12, 40.
 Ahasuerus, 18.
 Akiba, Rabbi, 51, 52.
 Al-Ardun, 61.
 Albinus, 37.
 Alcimus, 21.
 Alexander the Great, 3, 18, 28, 36, 69.
 Alexander Jannaeus, 7, 10, 25, 27, 76, 77, 80.
 Alexander II, 7, 26.
 Alexander Zebina, 24, 25.
 Alexandra, 7, 10, 26.
 Alexandria, 50.
 Alix, 63.
 Almaric I, 63, 64.
 Almaric II, 63.
 Ambivius, Marcus, 11, 36, 38.
 Amiens, 63.
 Anjou, 63, 64.
 Antigonus, 7, 10, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29.
 Antioch, 52, 53, 70, 72, 79, 80, 81.
 Antiochus (Epiphanes) IV, 3, 19, 21, 23, 57.
 Antiochus (Eupator) V, 21.
 Antiochus (Sidetes) VII, 9, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 55.
 Antipas, *vid* Herod.
 Antipater, 29.
 Apocrypha, 19, 67.

Arabia, 17, 29, 33. Arabic, 58. Arabs, 27, 61.
 Aradus, 19, 22, 23, 69.
 Arbela, 18.
 Archelaus, *vid* Herod.
 Arch of Titus, 42.
 Ardy's, 17.
 Aretas, 33.
 Aristophanes, 17.
 Aristobulus I, *vid* Herod.
 Aristobulus II, *vid* Herod.
 Aristobulus Judas, *vid* Aristobulus.
 Armenia, 27, 29, 35, 36.
 Arsaces, 28.
 Artaxerxes, 18.
 As, 77, 78.
 Ascalon, 20.
 Aspres, 65.
 Astarte-Venus, 59.
 Assarion, 79, 80.
 Assyria, 15.
 Athens, 3, 17, 18, 73, 76.
 Atonement, The, 3.
 Augustus, *vid* Caesar.
 Auranitis, 30.
 Aurelia, 59.
 Aureus, 43, 69, 80.
 Aurum, 68, 69.

B

Baal, 19.
 Baalbek, 61.
 Babylon, 15, 17, 18, 19.
 Bacchus, 59.
 Bactria, 3.
 Baldwin, I, II, III, IV, V, 63.
 Basse Lorraine, 63.
 Batanea, 30.
 Becchor, 20.
 Bekah, 16.
 Berenice, 34, 40.
 Berytus, 34.
 Bethany, 74.
 Bethar, 51.
 Bethlehem, Star of, 31.
 Bible, I, 68.
 Bible Sidelights, 16.

Blanchet, J. A., 64.
 Bouillon, 63.
 Bourbon, 64.
 Brass, First, 57, 81. Second, 79, 80.
 Third, 80.
 Brienne, 60, 64.
 Britain, 16, 51.
 Britannicus, *vid* Caesar.
 British Museum, 2, 4, 20, 25, 28, 41.
 Burney Dr., 1.
 Byblus, 20.
 Byzantine, 60, 61.

C

Caesar, 28, 49, 52, 53, 74.
 Julius, 29.
 Augustus, 10, 31, 32, 34, 36-38,
 70, 79, 80.
 Tiberius, 10, 11, 19, 34, 36, 38,
 69, 73, 74, 78, 79, 80.
 Caius, 10, 34.
 Caligula, 36.
 Claudius, 11, 34, 37, 40, 69.
 Nero, 12, 37, 70, 78, 80.
 Britannicus, 12.
 Vespasian, 12, 13, 42-46, 52, 53,
 72.
 Titus, 12, 13, 42, 43, 45-47.
 Domitian, 13, 42, 47, 49.
 Nerva, 13, 14, 49, 50, 72.
 Trajan, 50, 52.
 Hadrian, 14, 50, 51, 59, 60.
 Commodus, 59.
 Elagabalus, 59.
 Gordianus Pius, 19.
 Valerian, 59.
 Caesarea (Cappadocia), 70, 73, 80.
 Caesarea Philippi, 33, 34, 40.
 Caius, *vid* Caesar.
 Caligula, *vid* Caesar.
 Calvary, 3, 62.
 Candlestick (seven-branched), 42.
 Cappadocia, 52, 70.
 Capricorn, 48.
 Censor, 13.
 Cestius Gallus, 41.
 Chalcedon, Council of, 60.
 Chalcis, 35.
 Chalcous, 25, 75, 76, 77, 80.
 Champagne, 63, 64.
 Charlemagne, 62.
 Charles V, 65.
 Charles of Anjou, 64.
 Charlotte de Lusignan, 64.
 Chasidim, 22, 27.

Chios, 75.
 Chosroes II, 60.
 Christianity, 2.
 Christians, 50, 59, 60, 62, 63.
 Claudius, *vid* Caesar.
 Cleopatra, 33.
 Clermont, Council of, 62.
 Colon, 59, 60.
 Commandment, Second, 2.
 Commodiana, 59.
 Commodus, *vid* Caesar.
 Conrad, 63, 64.
 Conradin, 63.
 Consul, 12.
 Coponius, 11, 36, 38.
 Countermarks :
 Elephant, 20. Pig and Dolphin, 42,
 Tenth Legion, 42, 43.
 Cross pattée, 63.
 Cross, The true, 60.
 Crucifixion, The, 36.
 Crusades, 62.
 Cuspius Fadus, 35, 36.
 Cypros, 29, 35.
 Cyprus, 50, 63. Kings of, 64.
 Cyrene, 50.
 Cyrenius, 36.
 Cyrus, 17, 18.

D

Dagon, 19.
 Damascus, 61.
 Damiatta, 64.
 Daric, 18, 81.
 Darius, 18.
 David, 15.
 David's Tower, 63.
 Decapolis, 20.
 Demetrius I, 75.
 Demi-gros, 64.
 Demosthenes, 3.
 Denar, 64.
 Denarius, 43, 52, 53, 54, 72, 75, 80.
 Diadochoi, 19.
 Dictionaries of the Bible, 68.
 Didot frères, 4.
 Didrachm, 53, 72.
 Dilepton, 24, 37.
 Diospolis, 18.
 Dipondius, 43, 79.
 Domitian, *vid* Caesar.
 Drachm, 49, 72, 73, 80.
 Dragma, 64.

E

Edersheim, Alfred, 4.
Ediyy, 77.
Edomite, 29.
Egypt, 15, 16, 17, 19, 32.
Egypt and Israel, 24.
Elagabalus, *vid* Caesar.
Eleasar (Captain of Temple), 41, 42.
Eleasar the priest, 8, 51, 53-57.
Electrum, 17.
El-Kuds, 58, 65.
Eloul, 41.
Emmaus, 49.
Ephron the Hittite, 15.
Epiphanes, *vid* Antiochus IV.
Erozalam, 64.
Ethnarch, 21, 22.
Ethrog, 21, 53.
Eudocia, 60.
Eupator, 21.
Europe, 62.
Exile, Return from, 15.
Ezra, 18, 22.

F

Farthing, 37, 68, 76, 77, 79.
Felix, Antonius or Claudius, 37, 40, 41.
Festus Porcius, 37.
Flavians, 42, 47, 48.
Forgeries (shekels) 15, (other), 41.
Forer, L, 62.
Fortune, 59.
Franks, 64.
Frederick II of Germany, 63.
Fulk of Anjou, 63.
Fulk of Villaret, 65.

G

Gadara, 79.
Galilee, 33.
Gautier, Peter, 62.
Gaza, 20, 57.
Geba, 20.
Gennesareth, Lake of, 10.
Gentiles, 3, 21, 66.
Gezer, 1, 16.
Gerah, 17.
Germany, 63.
Gessius Florus, 37, 40.
Glaphyra, 32.
Godfrey of Basse Lorraine, 63.
Godfrey of Bouillon, 63.
Gold, 68, 69 (O.T.), 81 (N.T.), 80.
Gordianus Pius, *vid* Caesar.

Greece, 28.
Gros, 64.
Guy de Lusignan, 63.
Gyges, 17.

H

Hadrian, *vid* Caesar.
Half Chalcous, 24, 41.
Half Shekel, 5, 22, 41.
Hamburger, 4, 25.
Hārūn-er-Rashid, 62.
Hashmonean family, 6-8, 9, 10, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, 76, 77.
Hastings' Dictionary, 68, 77.
Head, Barclay. *Historia Numorum*, 17, 25.
Helena, 60.
Heliopolis, 61.
Hellenism, 3, 28.
Henry of Champagne, 63, 64.
Henry of Cyprus, 63.
Henry of Lusignan, 64.
Heracles, 18.
Heraclius, 65.
Herod Family, 10, 76, 77.
Herod Great, 10, 24, 29-31, 32-36, 59, 75.
Archelaus, 10, 29, 31, 32, 36.
Antipas, 10, 29, 31-34.
Philip I, 10, 33.
Agrippa, I, 11, 33-36.
Herod, King of Chalcis, 35.
Antipater, 31.
Agrippa II, 35, 36, 40.
Philip II, 33, 34.
Aristobulus, 34, 35.

Herodias, 33.
Herodotus, 17, 18.
Heth, 16.
Hezekiah, 17.
Hill, G.F., 26, 41.
Hill, Mrs., 4.
Hipparch, 36.
Hippias, 17.
Holy Week, 67.
Hugo I, 63.
Hugo II, 63.
Hunter Collection, 41.
Hyrcanus, John, 6, 9, 24, 25, 26, 29.
Hyrcanus II, 26, 29.

I

Ichabod, 56.
Idumaea, 29, 31.
India, 17.

Innocents, massacre of, 30.
Isabella, 63.
Islam, 1.
Issâr italki, 77.
Italy, 64.

J

Jacob, 66.
Jaffa, 18.
James I, 64.
James, Saint, 34.
Jannacus, *vid* Alexander Jannacus.
Jehovah, 37, 42, 43, 76.
Jericho, 30.
Jerusalem, 5, 9, 17, 18, 24, 34, 42, 49,
52, 53, 56, 59, 60-62, 65.
Jeshurun, 27.
Joash, 71.
Job, 16.
John, S. John Baptist, 33.
John of Brienne, 63, 64.
John, Evangelist, 34.
John of Giscala, 42.
John Hyrcanus, *vid* Hyrcanus.
Joppa, 18.
Jordan, 61.
Joseph, 16.
Joseph, Saint, 31.
Josephus, 1, 4, 29, 42, 49.
Judaea, 3, 12, 13, 31, 34, 36, 37, 43,
49, 50.
Judas Aristobulus, 7, 23, 23, 27, 29.
Judas Iscariot, 74.
Judas Maccabeus, 21.
Julia Agrippina, 12, 40.
Julia Augusta, 11.
Julias, 60.
Julius Caesar, *vid* Caesar.
Juno, 59.
Jupiter, 59.
Jupiter Capitolinus, 49, 51, 59.
Justinian, 60.

K

Kennedy, Rev. A.R.S., 68, 77, 79.
Kiddush, 77.
Koziba, 51.

L

L. = Legend, *passim*.
Lagidae, 19.
Lawrence and Bullen, 4.
Lebanon, 65.
Legion, Tenth, 42. Fifteenth, 43.

Legends :

Hebrew, 5.
Greek, 9.
Latin, 12.
Lepton, 76, 77, 80.
Life and Times of JESUS the Messiah,
4.
London, 4.
Longmans, Green and Co., 4.
Lotus, 24.
Louis, 18.
Louis de Savoie, 64.
Lucullus, 36.
Luke, Saint, 73, 78, 79.
Lulab, 21, 33.
Lusignan, 62, 64.
Lydia in Palestine, 18.
Lydians, 17, 18.
Lysias, 21.

M

Macalister, 16.
Maccabees, 3, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 29.
Machpelah, 16.
Madden, 4, 30, 40, 46, 47, 51, 57, 59,
61, 71.
Magdalene, Mary, 67.
Mahomed II, 65, V, 65.
Malta, 65.
Malthace, 29, 31, 33.
Manager, 36.
Maneh, 69.
Marathi, 9.
Marcellus, 36.
Marie of Montisferrato, 62.
Mark Antony, 24, 29.
Mark, Saint, 77, 78.
Mary, Saint (B.V.M.), 32, 60.
Matessarifliks, 65.
Mattathias, 7, 29.
Matthew, Saint, 67, 78.
Maundy, 74.
Measurement of coins, how given, 20.
Mediterranean, 60.
Medjidic, 65.
Melkarth, 19, 71.
Mesopotamia, 50.
Messenger, Leopold, 48.
Messiah (false), 23.
Milcom, 19.
Mina, 17, 69.
Minerva, 59.
Mishna, 77.
Mite, 37, 76, 77.
Modem, 51.
Mohammed, 61.

Mohammedan, 27, 66.
Money, 65.
Montisferrato, 63.
Moslem, 61-63.

N

Nablus, 65.
Napoleon, 18.
Nasi, 8, 9, 51, 57.
Nazareth, 32.
Nehemiah, 18.
Nebuchadnezzar, 17.
Nero, *vid* Caesar.
Nerva, *vid* Caesar.
Nicanor, 21.
Nicator, 27.
Nouveau Manuel de Numismatique, 64.
Numismatic Chronicle, 23, 53, 56, 61.
Numismatique de l'Orient Latin, 64.

O

Obv. = Obverse *passim*.
Octavius, 30.
Omar, Kaliph, 61.
Onias, 23.
Orontes, 70.
Ottoman Empire, 65.
Overstruck series, 52-59.

P

Pacorus, 24.
Palestine, 18, 36, 43, 45, 47, 61, 65,
73, 79.
Pallas, 18.
Pannonia, 43.
Para, 65.
Paris, 4.
Parthia, 3, 24, 27, 28.
Pater Patriae, 12, 26.
Paul, Saint, 37.
Pecunia, 69 *bis*.
Penny, 68, 73, 74.
Peracæ, 33.
Persia, 17, 59, 60.
Peter, Saint, 34, 71, 72.
Peter the Hermit (Gautier), 62.
Petrie, Flinders, 24.
Pharisees, 22, 27.
Pheidon, 17.
Philip of Macedon, 3.
Philip the Tetrarch, *vid* Herod.
Phoenicia, 15, 19, 21, 22, 23, 69.
Piastre, 65.
Pierre I, 64, II, 64.
Pillar of Fire, 53.

Pompey, 29.
Pontifex Maximus, 12.
Pontius Pilate, 11, 33, 39, 78, 80.
Pope, 62.
Pound, 68, 69.
Pretium, 69.
Price, 69.
Procurators, 11, 12, 29, 32, 56-41, 76.
Propactor, 36.
Ptolemies, 19, 21, 22, 27, 57.
Pugeoise, 63.

Q

Quadrans, 57, 77, 78, 80.
Quarter-shekel, 41, 54, 55.
Quietus, Lusius, 50.
Quirinus, Publius Sulpicius, 36.

R

Rebah, 16.
Rebekah, 16.
Recherches sur la Numismatique
Judaïque, 4.
Reinach, Th., 4, 20, 21, 22.
Resurrection, 36.
Rev. = Reverse, *passim*.
Revolt, First 8, 21, 22, 37, 40-43.
Second, 8, 9, 51-60.
Rhodes, 65.
Rhododendron, 23.
Rogers Bey, 65.
Rome, 3, 21, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33,
34, 42, 45, 46, 49.
Rufus, Annius, 11, 36, 38, 40.

S

Sabbath, 51.
Saducees, 22.
Saladin, 63.
Salome, 33, 35.
Salus, 70.
Samaria, 1, 20, 31, 33, 34, 49.
Samaritan, the Good, 74.
Sanhedrin, 29.
Sapor, 59.
Saracens, 61, 62.
Sardes, 18.
Saulcy, F. de, 4, 18, 26, 42.
Savoy, 64.
Schlumberger, 63, 64.
Seleucids, 3, 9, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 36,
38, 57, 69, 73.
Seleucus I., 19, 27, 29.
Senate, 37.
Senatus Consultu, 13, 14, 57.
Seneca, 49.

Sepulchre (Holy), 62, 64.
 Serapis, 59.
 Sestertius, 43, 59.
 Severus Julius, 51.
 Shekel, 5, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 41, 52, 70, 80.
 Shenath, 5.
 Shewbread, 42.
 Sicarii, 50.
 Sicily, 64.
 Sidon, 19, 20, 22, 23, 69.
 Siglos, 18, 81.
 Siloam, 1.
 Silver, 69.
 Silver, piece of, 68, 70.
 Silver, O. T., 81, N. T., 80.
 Silvers, 70, 71.
 Silvia, Saint, 60.
 Simon Bargioras, 41, 49.
 Simon Maccabaeus, 21-24, 55.
 Simon (Nasi or Barcochba), 8, 9, 23, 51-60.
 Simon (the Lord's host), 74.
 Sosius, Caius, 24, 29.
 Spain, 33.
 Spanish, 64.
 S. P. C. K., 24.
 Stater (gold), 18 (silver), 70, 80.
 Stele of Meshu, 1.
 Sultan, 63.
 Syria, 3, 9, 19, 22, 36, 41, 62, 65, 70, 75.

T

Tabernacles, Feast of, 21, 53.
 Tables of Law, 42.
 Talent, 17, 68, 69.
 Tacitus, 57, 41.
 Temple, 21, 27, 29, 31, 40, 41, 42, 52, 53. Capture of, 41. Vessels, 49.
 Tetradrachm, 18, 22, 23, 52, 70, 72.
 Tetrarch, 32.
 Thaddeus, 18, 22.
 Thassi, 23.
 Tiberias, 10, 33, 61, 62.
 Tiberius, *vid* Caesar.
 Tiberius Alexander, 37.
 Tigranes, 27, 36.
 Titus, *vid* Caesar.
 Trachonitis, 30.
 Trajan, *vid* Caesar.
 Tribunitian power, 12.
 Tribute, 71, 72.
 Trichalcous, 30.
 Trinity, The Blessed, 60.
 Tripolis, 21.

Triumph of Augustus, 13.
 Trübner & Co., 4.
 Trumpets, Silver, 42.
 Tubal Cain, 5.
 Turk, 66.
 Turkoman, 62.
 Types : —
 On Jewish Coins.
 Acrostolium, 30.
 Amphora, 41.
 Anchor, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 77.
 Augur's Wand, 39, 78.
 Basket, 20.
 Caduceus, 30, 32, 39.
 Candlestick, Seven-branched, 27.
 Chalice, 20, 21.
 Citron or Ethrog, 20, 52, 53.
 Cornucopiae, 24-28, 30, 32, 38.
 Crossed Palms, 40.
 Crossed Shields, 40.
 Diota, 39, 41.
 Eagle, 31.
 Ear of corn, 28, 30, 38. Three, 34, 39.
 Flower, Half opened, 25.
 Fruit Tree, 33.
 Galley, 32.
 Grapes, 32, 54, 55, 56, 58.
 Helmet, 25, 30, 31, 32.
 Jug, 54, 55.
 Jug and palm branch, 54, 55.
 Lily, 23, 24, 26. Triple, 21, 39.
 Lulab, 52, 53.
 Lyre, 54, 55, 57.
 Olive branch, 39.
 Palm Tree, 35, 40, 56, 57, 58.
 Palm Branch, 26, 32, 39, 40, 41, 54, 55, 57. Three, 41.
 Pomegranate, 20.
 Poppy, 24, 28, 32, 38.
 Prow, 32.
 Screen, Tetrastyle, 27, 52, 53.
 Shields, 30, 40.
 Star, 30, 52.
 Sun, 26, 77.
 Simpulum, 39.
 Tetrastyle Temple, 34.
 Tripod, 30, 31.
 Two trumpets, 55.
 Umbrella, 34.
 Vineleaf, 39, 41, 57.
 Wreath, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 38-41, 54-57, 78.
 Romano-Judean Coins.
 Jew kneeling, 46, 47.
 Judaea beneath tree or trophy

seated, 43; with or without soldier, 43-48.
Pallas, 48.
Palm tree, 48, 50.
Trophy of arms, 46, 48.
Victory, 43-50.

Non-Jewish.

Altar, 78.
Amphora, 77.
Aplustre, 19.
Argæus, Mount, 73.
Athene, 7, 19.
Baal, 19.
Candlestick, Five-branched, 61.
Cicala, 77.
Club, 19.
Crescent, 61.
Dagon, 19.
Dolphin, 19.
Eagle, 19, 71.
Figure of Kaliph, 61.
Gaming Table, 78.
Heracles, 18.
High Priest, Emperor as, 74.
King, The Great, 18.
Lamp, 77.
Melkarth, 19, 71.
Owl, 17; with crook and flail, 19.
Pallas, 18, 77.
Palm, 19.
Striations, 17.
Tortoise, 17.
Tyche, 19; of Antioch with Orontes, 70.
Zeus, 18.

Tyre, 19, 22, 23, 38, 64, 69, 71, 76, 80.

U

Urban II, Pope, 62.

V

Valerian, *vid* Caesar.
Valerius Gratus, 11, 36, 39.
Ventidius Comanus, 37.
Vespasian, *vid* Caesar.
Victor Amedeus II, 64.
Victoria Augusti, 13.
Victoria Navalis, 13.
Victory, 59, 70.
Vienne, 32.
Villaret, 65.
Vitellius, 36.
Vulgate, 79.

W

Wars of Jews, 49.
Weights of coins, how given, 20.
Westminster Abbey, 74.
Widow's Mite, 26, 76.
Wigan, 4, 26.

Y

Yaddous, 18, 22.
Yolanda, 63.

Z

Zeus, 18.
Zion, 5, 8. Redemption of, 21.
Zionism, 66.

SCRIPTURE REFERENCES:

Gen. XVII, 13, p. 15.
XXIII, 16, p. 16.
XXXVII, 28, p. 16.
XLII, 35, p. 16.
Exodus, XXI, 32, p. 70.
XXVI, 31, 32, p. 53.
XXVIII, 33, 34, p. 24.
XXX, 13, 16, p. 71.
XXXVIII, 26, p. 71.
Numbers, X, 32, p. 71.
Joshua, VII, 21, p. 16.
II. Chron., XXIV, 4-14, p. 71.
Ezra, II, 69, p. 28.
Prov., XI, 1, p. 16.
XVI, 11, p. 16.
Ezekiel, XXXIX, 2, p. 57.
Zech., XI, 12, 13, p. 70.
Ecclesiasticus, L, 6-9, p. 23.
I. Maccabees, IV, 69, p. 21.
VII, 4, p. 21.
VIII, 1, p. 21.
XIV, 27, p. 21.
XV, 5, 6, p. 21, 23.
XV, 27, p. 23.
II. Maccabees, X, 5-8, p. 21.
S. Matthew, II, 1-22, p. 30.
II, 11, p. 68.
II, 22, p. 32.
V, 26, p. 77.
X, 9, p. 68, 69 (*bis*).
X, 29, p. 79.
XIV, 1, 3, 6, 9, p. 33.
XVI, 13, p. 34.
XVII, 24 to end, p. 71.
XVIII, 24, p. 69.
XVIII, 28, p. 74.
XX, 2, 9, 10, 13, p. 74.
XXII, 19, p. 74.
XXV, 15-26, p. 69.
XXV, 18, 27, p. 69.

- XXVI, 15, p. 70.
 XXVII, 3, 5, 6, 9, p. 70.
 XXVIII, 12-15, p. 71.
 S. Mark, VI, 8, p. 69.
 VI, 17, p. 74.
 VIII, 22, p. 34.
 X, 23, p. 69.
 XI, 14-27, p. 33.
 XII, 15, p. 74.
 XII, 42, p. 37, 77.
 XII, 41, p. 75.
 XIV, 5, p. 74.
 XIV, 11, p. 69.
 S. Luke, I, 5, p. 30.
 II, 2, p. 36.
 III, 1, 19, p. 33 (*bis*).
 VII, 41, p. 74.
 VIII, 3, p. 33.
 IX, 3, p. 69.
 IX, 9, p. 33.
 IX, 10, p. 34.
 X, 35, p. 74.
 XII, 4-24, p. 69.
 XII, 6, p. 79.
 XII, 59, p. 76, 77.
 XIII, 31, p. 33.
 XV, 8, 9, p. 72.
 XIX, 12-25, p. 69.
 XIX, 24, p. 32.
 XIX, 15, 23, p. 69.
 XX, 24, p. 74.
 XXI, 1-4, p. 75, 76.
 XXII, 5, p. 69.
 XXIII, 7-15, p. 33.
 S. John, II, 15, p. 69.
 VI, 7, p. 74.
 XII, 5, p. 74.
 Acts, III, 6, p. 69.
 IV, 27, p. 33.
 IV, 37, p. 69.
 VII, 16, p. 69.
 VIII, 18-20, p. 69.
 XII, p. 34.
 XIII, 1, p. 33.
 XIX, 19, p. 69.
 XX, 33, p. 69 (*bis*).
 XXIV, 26, p. 69.
 Rom. XIII, 7, p. 72.
 I. Cor. III, 12, p. 68, 69.
 S. James, V, 3, p. 68, 69.
 I. S. Peter, I, 18, p. 69 (*bis*).
 Rev. VI, 6, p. 74.
 XVIII, 12, p. 68, 69.

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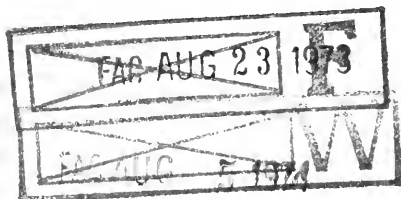
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